Volume 29, No. 1 Spring Number, 1940

Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association

THE ANNUAL MEETING of Friends' Historical Association was held in the meeting house at 20 South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia, on Second-day, 11 mo. 27, 1939, at 8.15 p. m. At the business meeting the President and Treasurer presented their annual reports, and the members elected the Directors listed on the opposite page. The Directors later met for a brief organization meeting, and re-elected the officers.

The President's report of the Association's activities during the year referred to the usual two issues of the BULLETIN, and the special publication of the fourth general index, covering volumes 21 to 25 inclusive. These indexes make the entire contents of the BULLETIN readily accessible to research workers, and hence make the BULLETIN especially attractive to libraries. The President referred also to the summer meeting of 5 mo. 20, 1939, held at West Chester. An interesting possibility of the Association's acquiring its independent headquarters in Philadelphia through rental of a part of the old Free Quaker Meeting House at Fifth and Arch Streets was mentioned; but it had appeared to the committee appointed to look into the matter that the terms proposed were beyond the Association's means.

Announcement was made of the death of one of the Association's Directors, William I. Hull, on 11 mo. 14, 1939. A memorial minute was passed, as follows:

WILLIAM ISAAC HULL (1868-1939)

A Memorial Minute

FOLLOWING a long career of teaching at Swarthmore College, and after having written extensively on American history, international relations, and the promotion of peace, William I. Hull was currently engaged in enterprises of particular interest to Friends. He was preparing

a history of Swarthmore College, and he was nearing the half-way point in a monograph series on the history of Quakerism in Holland. Years of research lay behind these monographs, which had recently begun to come from the publishers almost annually. They included essays on William Sewel, the Dutch Quaker historian, on the rise of Quakerism in Amsterdam, on William Penn and the migration of Dutch Friends to Pennsylvania, and on Penn's life and his early biographers. Rich in well-documented detail, these published volumes gave promise of still further original contributions to the story of Quakerism in Holland. In addition to this program of research and writing in Quaker history, William Hull recently devoted himself to reorganizing and expanding the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College. His sudden death on Eleventh Month 14, 1939, cut short these three projects, which, to a large degree, only he could complete.

Our friend and fellow-member joined the Friends' Historical Society in 1919, and became a Director of the present Friends' Historical Association in 1935. The Directors and Members of the Association adopt this minute to record their appreciation of the life and work of William I. Hull and to express their deep sense of loss in his death.

At the close of the business meeting, Janet Payne Whitney, the speaker of the evening, gave a delightful talk on "The Pleasures of Research," telling us how, in the preparation of her life of Elizabeth Fry, she had steeped herself in contemporary diaries and letters, many of them unpublished, and in the published records of manners and events of the time, till she felt herself competent to judge of the credibility of reports not technically verifiable, and to explain actions and events of which the motives and causes have not always been clear; so that the audience understood how she had been able to interweave established fact with the whisperings of a lively but informed and restrained imagination into a very charming and reliable biography. The meeting was followed, as usual, by a collation in the upper room, where those present could admire the magnificent old tie-beams used in the framing of the roof, which were uncovered some years ago during alterations.

The Index to volumes 21-25 of the BULLETIN has been printed, and will be sent gratis to those who will write to the Secretary asking for a copy.

HINSHAW'S ENCYCLOPEDIA OF QUAKER GENEALOGY

THE FIRST volume of Hinshaw's *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy*, covering the thirty-three oldest meetings of North Carolina, appeared in 1936. The second volume, covering four Philadelphia monthly meetings (Salem, Burlington, Philadelphia, and Falls), appeared in 1938. And just as the BULLETIN is going to press, the third volume appears, covering "all meetings of all grades ever organized in New York City and on Long Island"—a somewhat smaller volume than its predecessors, containing however some 540 pages.

The grateful historian, genealogist, editor is moved anew to humble admiration of the scope of the original plan of this *Encyclopedia* and of the exhaustive thoroughness with which it is being carried out; and to hope that Wade Hinshaw may be spared to carry the task to completion. The present volume, though it draws on the records of four monthly meetings, covers some twenty-three meetings, since the records of all were kept by New York, Westbury, Jericho, or Flushing. But the book is more complete than even the Quaker minutes could have made it; for the editors have consulted old family Bibles, burial registers, tombstone records from Quaker and non-Quaker burial grounds, and genealogical works already published. There were special difficulties in checking and reconciling the dates, due to the change from Old Style to New Style calendar; for under the Old Style the year was thought of as beginning in March, and Friends referred to March as First month, and uninformed historians have translated a Quaker record of "First month" back to "January" of the world's people. Indeed, with full awareness of the change, it is often impossible to tell which style was intended in the designation of a given month by a number, and confirmatory evidence must be sought.

One of the great values of such a universal dragnet is that many isolated problems of history or genealogy here find their solution in the mere inconspicuous recording in a single *indexed* volume of routine entries from all the original minutes from an entire region. For the scholar uncertain which of two or three persons with identical names may be referred to in a critical source passage, or not knowing when a certain personage lived,

it has been impossible to make the huge search that would perhaps bring the information to light—no single problem of this kind is important enough to justify the effort and expense. But now, all at once, the answers to a multitude of such problems, which have troubled a multitude of workers in the past, are ready at hand. An illegible personal name in an old MS Quaker letter can be deciphered by the use of the index and the references in the text; a person known to have lived in a given place at a given time, but later lost from sight, can be followed by the record of his certificate of removal. In fact, the same advantages accruing to users of the preceding volumes are now available for an additional and very important area.

Friends' Historical Association is vitally interested in the progress of Wade Hinshaw's monumental work, and bespeaks the loyal support of all those interested in making our Quaker records available and preserving them for future workers.

PENNSBURY MANOR

WILLIAM PENN'S country residence, begun in 1683, fell into complete decay upon the withdrawal of his family from the colony. But in 1932 the Warner Company, which then owned the land, presented about ten acres to the State; and since then there has been ceaseless activity not only to mark the site of the "William Penn Farm" but to restore the building itself.

This restoration involved laborious archaeological research, in order that the restoration might be as faithful as humanly possible. About $237,000 of public money was made available; and in April 1938 the actual construction began. In the fall of 1939 the main building and adjacent buildings were completed. The task of furnishing the interior as a historical museum, and of grading and planting according to Penn's plans, still remains to be done; but the project is so far advanced that completion is assured.

Pennsbury has been frequently mentioned in these pages, notably in an article by Albert Cook Myers in vol. 23 p. 61 ff; it is mentioned now because it has reached a stage at which it invites visit and inspection. It lies about 25 miles above Philadelphia on the Delaware, near Tullytown, between Bristol and Trenton, and not far from Falls Meeting.

QUAKER PROFILES

By Anna Cox Brinton

THE CHARACTERISTIC "Portraiture of Quakerism," to use Thomas Clarkson's phrase, is a portraiture of words. Our Quaker journals form a unique gallery of self-portraits, and the obituaries painstakingly prepared by monthly meetings to be sent up to the quarterly or yearly gatherings add a long array of less complete but still striking delineations. Here inner or spiritual dimensions impress the mind while a pictured likeness tends to fix the eye upon exterior contours.

In this brief prefatory paper I shall consider mainly American portraits. A few British antecedents are cited to make clear the connection between testimony and practice here and in England.

Actual Quaker portraits by brush and pen offer a largely unworked field, of some interest and importance to the antiquarian. All told, there are more extant likenesses than might at first be supposed in view of the disciplinary insistence on plainness and avoidance of superfluities. In 1760 Franklin wrote in a letter to Lord Kames that "the primitive Quakers used to declare against pictures as a vain expense; a man's suffering his portrait to be taken was conceived as pride and I think to this day it is very little practised among them." The same was true of other religious people. For example, William Law, the famous Anglican divine, author of the *Serious Call*, the most widely read religious book of its time, objected to having his likeness taken on grounds of humility. It is true that large and fashionable portraits were consistently discouraged by Friends, but drawings of the simpler and less formal sort, small canvasses and unpretentious engravings, were not infrequently made by professional artists as well as by amateurs, with the result that we can form a fairly clear impression of the features of some at least of the First Publishers of Truth. We know the general aspect of Fox, Naylor, and Penn, and of many of the worthies who came after them. Information is also to be gleaned from satirical representations.

One of the best, if not the best, among American Quaker portraits of the early time is the painting of Anne Galloway by Hesselius, father or son, now in the American-Swedish Historical

Museum of Philadelphia. Thomas Story tells us in his famous journal that he visited Samuel Galloway's home at the Ridge in Maryland in 1699. There he rested for the night and was "very easy and well." Anne Galloway, the wife of Samuel, was "the only ministering Friend at that time in all those parts; a very honest, innocent, lively and honorable Friend in the Truth, and everywhere acceptable in her services." Hesselius' canvas is in complete agreement with Story's description.

Because Friends never promoted the pictorial arts, the few among them who showed special gifts in this direction sought sponsors outside the Society. Benjamin West of Chester (now Delaware) County, Pennsylvania, and Patience Lovell Wright of Bordentown, New Jersey, both found patronage in London at the court of King George III and Queen Caroline.

Edward Hicks, coach painter and minister of the gospel, remained at home and carried on his religious and temporal labors among Friends. He produced several quaint works. Best known among them is "The Peaceable Kingdom," in which the lion is shown lying down with the lamb while William Penn treats with the Indians in the background. Another of his pictures, now exhibited in the Museum of Modern Art in New York City with the caption "The Farm of David Twining in 1787," is strongly influenced by the profile style. Edward Hicks suffered severe compunctions because of his addiction to painting, "having been unsuccessful in every attempt to make an honest and honorable living by a more consistent business." He says: "My constitutional nature has presented formidable obstacles to the attainment of that truly desirable character, a consistent and exemplary member of the Society of Friends; one of which is an excessive fondness for painting, a trade to which I was brought up . . . and followed the greater part of my life."

IN CONNECTION with the subject of portraits, it is worth noticing that the Quaker folios and calf-bound quartos of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have undecorated title pages; though elaborately engraved titles, with portrait of the author or of the notable to whom the book was dedicated, were then the rule for books of importance. In looking through the series of

Friends' journals, the first which I have noted as containing a portrait is the *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Lindley Murray*, printed in York, England, in 1826 and in New York in 1827. Elizabeth Frank's preface contains an explicit statement of Lindley Murray's attitude on portraits:

> Some years since, the proprietors of his works, with great liberality, requested him to allow them to have his portrait taken by an eminent artist; which I am sorry to say, he declined. Several little sketches were made, by various persons who occasionally visited him: but all of these had little if any resemblance of him, except a profile, which I have received through the kindness of Mr. Sansom of Philadelphia. It was taken by him, in 1799, when he was on a visit at Holdgate; but it has not yet been engraven. After Mr. Murray's decease, several persons went to view his remains: amongst others, Mr. Westoby, a miniature painter who, for his own satisfaction, made a sketch of the features of the deceased; from which he afterwards formed the portrait which is now annexed to this volume.

The first Quaker book in which I have found a printed silhouette is the *Memoir of the Life of Elizabeth Fry*, edited by two of her daughters in 1847. Volume one of this biography contains a reproduction of a tiny and sprightly pen drawing filled in with black, showing Elizabeth Gurney at the age of eighteen. Janet Whitney's *Elizabeth Fry, Quaker Heroine*, contains a print of another profile of Elizabeth Gurney made a year later when she had adopted the plain dress and cap. This was drawn by Amelia Alderson, who later became the wife of the portrait painter Opie. Amelia Opie was early instructed in profile drawing by Mrs. Beetham, the most celebrated shadow artist of her time. In the second volume of the *Memoir* there is an engraving of Mrs. Charles Pearson's half-length portrait of Elizabeth Fry reading from the Bible.

The London edition of the *Life of William Allen*, 1846, appeared without a portrait, but the Philadelphia edition of the following year contains a handsome engraving by T. B. Welch from a drawing by T. F. Dicksee. After this date portraits became a usual feature in Quaker memoirs. Such modern books as Francis Taylor's *William Savery* or the history of the Parrish family

compiled by Susanna Parrish Wharton are enlivened with silhouettes, while technical genealogies often depend upon relics of the scissor art for likenesses of the second and third generations of Quakers on this continent.

There was not the same objection to small profile drawings, pen outlines, cuttings, and simple engravings as there was to elaborate full-length portraits. Wax and clay plaques were thought to border upon worldliness, but in spite of this a few of them were made. Levi Hollingsworth (1739-1824) and Hannah Paschall Hollingsworth, his wife, were exquisitely done in colored wax. Hannah's grey dress, cambric cap, and filmy shawl are charmingly executed. These realistic profiles in their original frames have come down in the Hollingsworth family and are now in the possession of Anna Shinn Maier of Harriton, Bryn Mawr.

A number of small Quaker profiles are drawn in a monochrome wash or in color. The most famous of them is the portrait of John Woolman by his friend Robert Smith, third of the name, of Burlington, New Jersey, which is reproduced as frontispiece to Amelia Mott Gummere's edition of Woolman's journal and essays. This sketch is in sepia on a folio sheet of paper. An exquisite profile in color belonging to the same generation shows Septimus Roberts in 1786. This was given by Mrs. Charles Roberts to the Friends' Historical Association. It hangs in the Old City Hall at Fifth and Chestnut Streets, Philadelphia. A third example of the painted profile is the likeness of Thomas Shipley, suggesting the style of Rossiter, treasured by his descendants in their family archives. The size of these painted profiles is slightly larger than that of ordinary silhouettes.

The profile cut of black paper, especially the so-called hollow-cut of white paper backed with black, had a great vogue toward the end of the eighteenth century. This technique presented the simplest and least expensive way of recording features. Color was eliminated, a fact which tended toward simplicity. Forehead, nose, and chin were all that counted. Flashing eyes and rosy lips were omitted. This tended to diminish vanity. One reason why we have so many cuttings of leading ministers and elders of the Society of Friends is the fact that striking profiles could be cut

PLATE II. Eliza H. Vaux and her children. The characters, from left to right, are named on the original: Mary E., Hannah S., Susan, Anna S., Eliza H. (seated at table), Emily, Frances, William S., Elizabeth, George. Under Susan is the signature: Augⁿ Edouart fecit 1843.

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from memory. In the tea-room of Twelfth Street Meeting hangs a photograph of a pencil profile by Walter Brown of Thomas Wistar (1784-1851) as he sat in meeting in his more advanced years. The fact that a silhouette is really nothing more than the reduction of a shadow seems to have commended it as something natural. In 1817 Maria Fox writes of "the pursuit of allowable pleasure in the contemplation of nature's works." Thus did our discreet forebears practise selection in their recreation. On this principle even the strictest homes felt free to admit a few shadow-graphs. Does not Whittier speak in "Snow-Bound" with affectionate recollection of "the cat's dark silhouette on the wall"?

The production of scissor work required knack rather than talent. It was not a school-learned craft. It could be cultivated at home and it often served as an "innocent pastime." This accounts for the quantity of silhouettes of all sizes that have come down as treasured relics in almost every Quaker home. It was in 1839 that the Frenchman Daguerre made his process of photography known to the Paris Academy. About the middle of the century his invention became current in America. Prior to that time silhouettes and profile drawings took the important place which was to be filled by the photograph as a personal memento.

The favorite way of preserving silhouettes was in scrapbooks. In the early Victorian period albums of cuttings and drawings were almost as general as were the autograph and photograph albums of the later nineteenth century. In the conversation piece shown in Plate I it will be noticed that an elegant album of full-length shadow pictures is lying on the parlor table. Severer Quaker albums contain only heads. Plate IV shows profiles from a book in the possession of Ellis W. Bacon of Wallingford, Pennsylvania. It is made up of sixty-six leaves, blue, yellow, and grey. On these are pasted white or black disks. Centered on the disks are black or white cut-out heads, most of them slightly larger than the usual size produced by the Peale Museum. They are obviously cut by several hands. Quaker caps and shawls are rendered with great accuracy; the folds of the shawl behind the women Friends' necks being carefully indicated by two to three neatly cut notches. A small album of Peale Museum hollow-cuts

of the Kite family is on view in the collection of the Friends' Historical Association in the Old City Hall in Philadelphia.

More worldly albums contain animals, flowers, landscapes, occupational figures, and even valentines. Professional silhouettists advertise their skill in cutting pieces suitable for scrapbooks. An elaborate late example of the miscellaneous album was made by the painter George B. Wood of Germantown in 1860. Along with many fancy pieces this book of cut-outs, now also in the possession of the Friends' Historical Association, contains some identified portraits, full-length figures or heads or busts.

HOME-CUT profiles range from life-sized shadows to minute examples made for insertion in a locket. Professional shades tend to approximate a head size of 1½ inches by 1½ inches. I once saw a mammoth album of life-sized Quaker heads in the home of the late Joshua Robson of Huddersfield, England. These represented several generations of the family, and showed persons of all ages. Old age is best for silhouettes, presenting as it does greater individuality than youth or middle years. It is difficult to cut baby profiles. An anecdote quoted by Maberly Phillips in Volume 29 of the *Connoisseur* shows the reason for this difficulty. He says:

> I remember hearing the story of my godmother sending the nurse with her first young hopeful—a very chubby youngster of some eighteen months—to have his portrait taken by the scissors process. When the result was shown to the fond parent, she said, "Oh Mary, this is not like him! It is not half fat enough!" "Please, ma'am," the maid replied, "the man said if he took the cheeks to the full there would be no nose."

At Woodbourne, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, the home of Charles Henry Moon, the art of shadow cutting has persisted up to the present. Here contemporary profiles can be matched with those of a hundred years ago.

Profile guessing has been a favorite game in some families. In the Dillwyn papers quoted in *The Parrish Family*, this note is appended to the silhouettes of four sisters about 1785:

> The artist not having so humble an opinion of her abilities as to think it necessary to write under or over her works

PLATE III

Above: (*a*) James Pemberton (1724-1809); (*b*) Elias Hicks (1748-1830)
Below: (*c*) Ellis Yarnall (1756-1846); (*d*) Joseph Parrish (1779-1840)

"This is a horse," "This is a man," etc. is yet wishing to aid lame conjecture by description after a part of those (whose entertainment is her object) have had a reasonable time for the exercise of their memories.

Her aid to "lame conjecture" consists of the following notes:

L. D. Jr. (Perhaps a nice profile though not striking.)
A. D. (This is a strong likeness.)
S. M. D. (Like her but too much of the upper lip.)
J. N. D. (A pretty good resemblance.)

The four profiles were sent "To Susan Emlen for the Portrait Gallery at West Hill." This family home was near Burlington, New Jersey.

Horses, dogs, cats, and birds add greatly to the pictorial effect of group compositions in black and white, but these accessories were difficult to cut and required a practised if not a professional eye and hand.

A LARGE number of silhouettes were from the first intended to be framed. Fashionable artists like Edouart, one of whose maple frames is shown in Plate I, carried with them a supply of frames and engraved backgrounds. By carefully folding the paper, from two to four likenesses could be made at a time. One of these was kept on file with a memorandum of the sitter's name, age and address. Such paraphernalia, in some cases augmented by a shadowgraph, made a cumbersome outfit to be transported when the professional portrait cutter went from city to city.

Among the English Quaker profiles of various materials and of special interest are Wedgewood's jasper plaque of Dr. Fothergill, designed in 1781 by John Flaxman; John Field's ink drawing, penciled with gold, of Hester Savory, the Quaker maiden loved from afar by Charles Lamb; Amelia Opie's grey outlines of the Gurneys; Samuel Capper by Samuel Metford, himself of Quaker stock from Glastonbury; and a fine conversation piece, unsigned, representing Joseph Sturge and his family. This last is now in the possession of Mrs. William Albright of Birmingham. These items are chosen at random from a large number mainly treasured as family antiquities, but sometimes, as in the case of the profile of Hester Savory, belonging to museum collections.

A selection of American silhouettes of similar historic interest might include the John Greenleaf Whittier owned by Mrs. Walter G. Chase of Boston; the full-length Stephen Grellet in the Swarthmore Quaker Collection; Rebecca Jones drawn from her own shadow in 1787 by Sarah Hustlor; and "that dignified servant of the Lord," George Dillwyn, and Sarah his wife. The list could be lengthened to include many more.

A unique Quaker silhouette is printed in Volume five (1850) of *The Non-Slave Holder* in an article by William J. Allinson. It represents Captain Paul Cuffee, Negro, who died in 1817 in the fifty-ninth year of his age. The silhouette is dated 1812 and is derived from a profile drawn by John Pole, M.D., of Bristol, England. Henry J. Cadbury mentions this picture in his monograph on "Negro Membership in the Society of Friends." The following excerpt is quoted from a contemporary newspaper: "Capt. Cuffee is of a very pleasing countenance, and his physiognomy truly interesting. He is both tall and stout, speaks English well, dresses in the Quaker style, in a drab-coloured suit, and wears a large flapped white hat."

Portraits of Elias Hicks are particularly interesting. There are three silhouettes: two signed heads, and the full-length figure engraved by John Hopper, in the Swarthmore Quaker Collection. The more striking of the two heads is an undated hollow-cut by Edward Chandey. It seems to have come from the Seaman Collection. The second is a fine head in black profile said to have been taken in 1829. The Swarthmore example has a note appended which indicates that "it was cut by Richard Field of New York City Fourth month 1829 from a shadow taken from life." A further memorandum appended to the profile informs us that "many Friends visited Richard Field at his home in New York and permitted him to take their profiles from their shadows. He became very expert at the work, and left a portfolio of the profiles of many prominent Friends." The Hicks portrait was found in Field's collection in 1911 by Henry B. Seaman of Brooklyn. A duplicate, exact except for the length of the shoulder or bust portion, is pasted into an old minute book of Fifteenth Street Meeting in New York. In 1830 J. Hopper, son of Isaac T. Hopper, had a full-length silhouette of Elias Hicks engraved

PLATE IV

Hannah Pine, of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Rebecca Jones, of Woodbury, New Jersey

and printed in New York. A rare copy in brown, as well as several examples in black, is to be seen in the Swarthmore collection. This portrait is reproduced in *The Quaker: a Study in Costume*, by Amelia Mott Gummere.

THE MOST expert and versatile silhouettist who worked in America was the French émigré, Augustin Amant Constant Fidèle Edouart (1789-1861). Of the 3,800 portraits which he cut on this side of the Atlantic in the decade 1839 to 1849, a number represented Friends. Edouart spent some time in Philadelphia, where his talent was in great request. An exhibition recently arranged here gathered together a comprehensive array from his scissors of the profiles of Philadelphians of a century ago. Two conversation pieces representing Quaker families are reproduced in Plates I and II. Both belong to the year 1843. In the first Susanna Sansom, widow of William Sansom (for whose forebear Samuel Sansom, or "Captain Sam," Sansom Street, Philadelphia, was named), is seen with her two daughters. Eliza H. Vaux stands rigidly facing her mother, reticule in hand. Behind the mother's rocking-chair is Hannah Sansom, book in hand. Entering on the left, with a deferential attitude and presenting a sealed letter from the post, is their Negro servant Philip Gurney. Susanna Sansom, then seventy-seven years of age, holds a pair of spectacles with which she may have been examining the silhouette album on the table. The background is engraved. It shows a more ornamental interior than was usual in a Quaker home of that epoch. Edouart carried his prefabricated backgrounds with him and made use of the most nearly appropriate one in his collection.

Plate II shows the same Eliza H. Vaux, this time surrounded by her seven daughters and two sons, the youngest of whom, George Vaux, eighth of the name, was grandfather of the present owner of the silhouette. Eliza H. Vaux was said to have been "a woman of marked peculiarities." After the death of her husband she and her seven daughters joined the Episcopal Church. Her youngest child, the boy on the extreme right, remained a staunch Friend. He lived a noteworthy life in Philadelphia and on his ancestral land at Bryn Mawr. The deed for this property

was received by his ancestor direct from William Penn. The name of each individual is inscribed in the beautiful handwriting of George Vaux Senior on the gilded rim of the characteristic Edouart frame. From left to right they are Mary E. and Hannah S. standing vis-à-vis; Susan, seated with her writing or drawing, pen in hand; Anna S. holding a sheet of music. In the center by a round table with knitting in her hands sits the mother, Eliza H. Vaux in her prim Quaker garb. There are three more daughters on the right of the mother, Emily, with her left hand resting on the mother's chair and a flower in her right; Frances, reading a letter; and Elizabeth, presenting a bouquet to her brother, William S. Finally the youngest child and second son, George Vaux, completes the series. The accessories of this scene, draperies and arched doorway, show worldly elegance. The artist must have selected his largest, handsomest background for such a family!

After Edouart's cutting the work of later shadow artists presents an anticlimax, but the album of George B. Wood is not without interest today. His deft hand caught the features of his friends and neighbors in Germantown so aptly that they are recognized at a glance by their descendants. The two grandfathers of the editor of this BULLETIN, Nathaniel H. Brown and Richard Cadbury, cut free-hand by the scissors of George B. Wood in 1860, suitably conclude this series of Quaker profiles.

NOTES ON THE PLATES

I. Susannah Sansom (1766-1845) and her daughter, by Edouart, who specialized in full-length figures and groups.

II. Eliza H. Vaux and her children, by the same artist. Edouart made cuts of six Presidents and ex-Presidents.

III. (a) James Pemberton (1724-1829), by Mary Hornor. (b) Elias Hicks (1748-1830), by Richard Field: in the Friends Reference Library at Swarthmore. (c) Ellis Yarnall (1756-1846): in the tearoom of Twelfth Street Meeting House, Philadelphia. (d) Joseph Parrish, M.D. (1779-1840): an unsigned cutting in the Quaker collection of the Friends Reference Library at Swarthmore.

IV. Hannah Pine of Philadelphia and Rebecca Jones of Woodbury, New Jersey: from the scrapbook of Ellis Bacon.

V. Richard Cadbury (1825-97) and Nathaniel H. Brown (1815-94), by George B. Wood, whose work was well known in Germantown in 1860. His book of scissor cuts was presented to the Friends' Historical Association by Margaretta S. Hinchman.

Above:
Richard Cadbury
(1825-97)

Below:
Nathaniel H. Brown
(1815-94)

PLATE V
Silhouettes cut by George B. Wood in 1860

ELISHA BATES AND THE MT. PLEASANT PRINTING PRESS 1817-1827

By Robert J. Leach

ELISHA BATES, a weighty Friend from Yorktown, Virginia, moved with his family to Mt. Pleasant, Ohio, in 1817. At that time Mt. Pleasant was the meeting place for Ohio Yearly Meeting. There Elisha Bates did not pursue his former occupation as a schoolteacher, but became a printer and publisher. He was selected Clerk of the Yearly Meeting in 1819 and in 1824, a position which he held almost continuously till 1834. Although Bates was the most significant Friend that Quakerism produced in Ohio in the nineteenth century, he has been neglected by historians of the Society till today. The following article is a chapter from a thesis presented to the Ohio State University in partial requirement of the degree of Master of Arts in 1939. This thesis is entitled "Elisha Bates, 1817-1827. The Influence of an Ohio Publisher upon Quaker Reform."

ELISHA BATES may have found the prospect of opening a school unfavorable. What the family did for a living from July 1817 to October 1818 is unknown. Perhaps they possessed an independent income, for Bates complained in November 1821, after three years of publication work, that he was considering discontinuing it, because it was a financial burden![1] At any rate he became interested in newspapers and printing. In the fall of 1818 he purchased Charles Osborn's famous paper, the *Philanthropist*, since Osborn had in mind to move to the real frontier in western Ohio. Through this purchase Bates may have acquired both the printing press and the property which was known in town in after years as the home of Rebecca Bates. Elisha Bates supervised the raising of a house in Mt. Pleasant in 1816 when on a visit. Whether or not this was the house near the meeting house is not known.[2] That brick structure, which has

[1] Annetta C. Walsh, "Three Anti-Slavery Newspapers," *The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, xxxi, 187.

[2] Fairfax Harrison, *Aris Sonis Focisque, Being a Memoir of an American Family the Harrisons of Skimino and particularly of Jesse Burton Harrison and Burton Norwell Harrison*, 41.

since been destroyed, stood on a little rise just above and across the road from the meeting house, in some ways the most admirable situation in town.

Near sunset time each evening the family could look across miles of vistas, past the meeting house in "grandeur" aloof from the town, toward an occasional farm breaking the "continuity of the waving forest" beyond; and could see, near the horizon, the "'blue vapour" rising from the Ohio River.[3] From this delightful base of operations appeared, on October 18, Elisha Bates's first issue of the *Philanthropist*, a weekly newspaper of four pages (9½" x 12¼"), in form similar to that which Osborn had issued, but different in tenor. Osborn had devoted his paper largely to the immediate emancipation of the slave, but had included articles bearing upon temperance and peace.[4] With him had been associated Benjamin Lundy of later abolitionist fame. Lundy was a birthright Friend, who, at the age of nineteen, moved to Mt. Pleasant (in 1807). The following year he was apprenticed in the saddlery business in Wheeling. He set up his own establishment in Mt. Pleasant in 1812, but soon removed to St. Clairsville, where trade was better.[5] In the following year Lundy formed the "Union Humane Society" there, the first abolitionist society in Ohio.[6] Publications of this society had interested Charles Osborn, who had come to Mt. Pleasant with slavery brooding on his mind.[7] Osborn sought the literary assistance of young Lundy, promising him the assistant editorship of his paper. In the summer of 1818, the former decided to boat his business to St. Louis where he could get a good price for it, and then to devote himself to the *Philanthropist*. While he was in St. Louis the Missouri Compromise crisis broke. Lundy decided to remain a while to fight the proslavery forces through editorials.[8] Meanwhile Osborn sold his paper. Lundy returned late in the year 1820, when he became associated with Isaiah

[3] Rebecca Bates, *Social Circle* (see *infra*, note 66), i, no. 3 (Aug. 1827), 26.
[4] Walsh, *loc. cit.*, 173.
[5] *Ibid.*, 194.
[6] Ruth A. Ketring, *Charles Osborn and the Anti-Slavery Movement*, 35.
[7] *Ibid.*, 36.
[8] Walsh, *loc. cit.*, 196.

Osborn, son of the ex-editor of the *Philanthropist*, who had been his father's assistant but had left Elisha Bates, because of the latter's mild attitude toward slavery and abolition. Young Osborn assisted Lundy to establish the first abolitionist newspaper in America, the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*. This paper appeared on July 4, 1821,[9] the first number of Volume One being printed by Bates's press. Thereafter Lundy carried the weekly octavo (9″ x 6″) on his back all the long twenty-four miles uphill from Steubenville to Mt. Pleasant.[10] A mutual friend of Bates and Lundy, one Elihu Embree, had lived in Mt. Pleasant in 1817.[11] He had established *The Emancipator*, a weekly anti-slavery periodical, in Jonesboro, Tennessee. Embree died in February, 1820. His paper, which was the official organ of the Manumission Society of Tennessee, which Charles Osborn had established on February 25, 1815,[12] sought a successor for Embree. Early in 1822 they secured the promise of Benjamin Lundy, who chafed under the adverse conditions for publication in Mt. Pleasant. In March of that year he and Isaiah Osborn removed to Greenville, Tennessee.[13] Perhaps it is unnecessary to recall that Lundy removed his *Genius of Universal Emancipation* to Baltimore in 1825, and later became associated with William Lloyd Garrison.

THUS the origins of the abolition movement, not to be confused with the antislavery movement, were entangled with the establishment of the Ohio Yearly Meeting (1813) and Mt. Pleasant (1798). Into this radical atmosphere Elisha Bates came and purchased the first of these papers.[14] Not until December 11, 1818, did Bates change the form of the *Philanthropist* as the outward sign of its changed content. The new paper was issued

[9] I have examined this first number.

[10] Walsh, *loc. cit.*, 198.

[11] MS Ohio Yearly Minute Book, 63.

[12] Ketring, *op. cit.*, 24.

[13] Walsh, *loc. cit.*, 198.

[14] This may not have been the *first* paper, for rumor has it the first sheet published in Mt. Pleasant was called the *Evening Fire Side*. It was supposed to have lasted from 1804 to 1806, but no trace of it has been found to date.

in quarto, rather than in folio form (5" x 7½"). The reason for the change was to facilitate the binding of the whole volume. Each volume contained twenty-six weekly issues, a total of 416 pages in a half-year's time. As Bates had already published eight folio issues, the first volume contained only eighteen, not twenty-six issues.[15] Thus we can see that the form of this paper does not justify the use of the term newspaper; rather, as we shall observe, it was the content of the paper.

A yearly subscription ran $3.00, half of which was payable in advance. All subscriptions ran for the year. If back debts were not paid new subscriptions could not be cancelled, it being assumed that only payment and refusal to purchase another volume terminated the subscription. A last requirement was that all communications be postpaid. This was reasonable as postal rates were very high and the clientele which Bates inherited from Osborn extended from Philadelphia to Greensboro, North Carolina, and west in a triangle to Cincinnati. There were twenty-eight accredited subscription agents scattered over this area.[16] The number of agents increased slightly during the existence of the paper, the western limits being extended to Richmond, Indiana.[17] Unfortunately there is no clue to the actual size of the patronage. As the first two volumes had sold pretty well, Bates advertised the same number of pages for a subscription price of $2.50, or $2.00, if paid in advance. He credited cash to those who had already purchased a second year's subscription at the old price.[18]

Almost as soon as the reformed paper appeared, there were complaints that the paper did not reach its eastern subscribers. Bates blamed this situation upon a faulty postal system.[19] As this complaint occurred chronically, Bates met it by mailing duplicate free copies.[20] In January 1819, he decided to lessen

[15] *Philanthropist*, i, no. 1 (Dec. 11, 1818), 1. I have examined the first six of the seven quarto volumes of Bates's *Philanthropist*. Of the folio editions of the *Philanthropist* only Osborn's have been located to date.

[16] *Ibid.*, 16.

[17] *Ibid.*, ii, no. 2 (April 24, 1819), 32.

[18] *Ibid.*, no. 24 (Oct. 2, 1819), 382.

[19] *Ibid.*, i, no. 4 (Jan. 1, 1819), 49.

[20] *Ibid.*, ii, no. 9 (June 12, 1819), 143.

his subscription problems by offering the agents a ten per cent commission for collecting the subscription money and sending it to him direct.[21] This was a wise policy thereafter pursued.

The paper appeared very regularly despite interruptions in the form of illness or travels occasioned by the Yearly Meeting. He states that he was quite seriously ill in February 1819,[22] and again in October of that year, when his two daughters were ill also, necessitating the omission of one number.[23] Bates did miss one other week, that of the Yearly Meeting at which he was selected clerk.[24]

With the last issue of each volume of the *Philanthropist,* Bates sent a title page and an index (poorly done) for binding purposes.[25] The printing of the first half-year must have been quite a task, for his children were too young to help him, and Isaiah Osborn had left his employment.[26] The issue for June 12 carried an advertisement for an apprentice of "suitable age, family &c.," to whom, if desired, he would teach the book-binding trade.[27] It is quite probable that Bates had had a book business in Virginia. He was not successful in obtaining help that summer, for we find him advertising in September 1819 for the help of a "Journeyman Printer," provided he knew the business and was of good moral character.[28] Later he was successful in procuring the services of Horton Howard, Junior, son of the first Yearly Meeting clerk, a resident of Smithfield (nine miles north of Mt. Pleasant). This young man handled the whole paper at times when Bates was very busy and proved to be very satisfactory.[29]

[21] *Ibid.*, i, no. 5 (Jan. 15, 1819), 96.

[22] *Ibid.*, no. 12 (Feb. 27, 1819), 185.

[23] *Ibid.*, ii, no. 23 (Oct. 16, 1819), 397; *ibid.*, no. 26 (Oct. 23, 1819), 401; MS letter from Bates to Thomas Rotch, Kendal, Ohio, Oct. 3, 1819.

[24] MS Ohio Yearly Meeting Minute Book, 86. Thus within two short years Elisha Bates was considered the most weighty Friend in Ohio.

[25] *Philanthropist,* i, no. 18 (April 10, 1819), 273; *ibid.*, ii, no. 1 (April 17, 1819), 15.

[26] Isaiah Osborn eventually removed to Indiana.

[27] *Philanthropist,* ii, no. 9 (June 12, 1819), 143.

[28] *Ibid.*, no. 22 (Sept. 18, 1819), 352.

[29] MS letter from Horton Howard, Sr., at Delaware, Ohio, to Thomas Rotch of Kendal, July 20, 1821.

At best it was a slow and tiring process to use Bates's press, for it was an elementary hand-made affair. The ink had to be applied by hand to each plate of set type from a ball of wool covered with calfskin.[30] The press was dependent for the most part on coarse paper manufactured at Short Creek,[31] and upon the very uncertain freight system from Hartford, Connecticut, for the ink used.[32]

IT IS surprising that with all the work involved in publishing the *Philanthropist* Elisha Bates did not limit his activities to one paper. On April 24, 1819, he publicly regretted that he could not publish his proposed *Compiler* because of the dearth of subscriptions.[33] No doubt he wished to possess a medium for miscellaneous material not included in the program of the *Philanthropist.* This program was in short as follows:

1. To reprint articles bearing upon state, national, and international affairs.
2. To specialize in articles bearing upon slavery.
3. To publish advertisements and otherwise serve Mt. Pleasant as a local paper.
4. To be the medium of his editorial ideas upon current subjects.

In effect this planning made for emphasis upon the following subjects:

1. Friends and Indian Improvements bill.
2. Activities of the Colonization and Manumission Societies.
3. Campaign against a State constitutional convention.
4. Publicity upon new scientific achievements.
5. Condition of banks and money during the depression.
6. Elaboration of the Quaker testimony against war.
7. Advocacy of economy of sheep culture.
8. Movement for an Ohio canal system.

[30] Walsh, *loc. cit.*, 190.

[31] Joseph B. Doyle, *20th Century History of Steubenville, and Jefferson County, Ohio, and Representative Citizens*, 339.

[32] *Philanthropist*, ii, no. 25 (Oct. 16, 1819), 386.

[33] *Ibid.*, no. 2 (April 24, 1819), 18.

9. Activities of Congress on the Land Question.
10. Activities of Congress on Foreign Trade.
11. Activities of Congress in Missouri Compromise.
12. Books which Bates printed for sale.

Many miscellaneous articles were reprinted from newspapers published in various parts of the country. However, Elisha Bates made no point of crediting these sources nor of commenting upon the miscellaneous material. Perhaps the outstanding characteristic of the *Philanthropist* in comparison with other Bates publications was the lack of articles written by the editor or reflecting his viewpoints.[34] In an opening number of the fifth volume that policy was emphasized by the statement that he printed news in full, not just viewpoints that agreed with his own.[35]

During the first year of publication Bates printed Job Scott's *Journal*, a religious work which he sold by subscription as a business venture.[36] This evidently was a success, for he set up a book store advertising books and publications of many kinds for sale: school texts, Bibles, histories, travel accounts, religious tracts, medical works, English poetry, dictionaries, and books on general science and philosophy.[37] This bookstore contributed to the general level of culture of Mt. Pleasant, although there was already a public library in a room in the bank.[38]

Friend Bates did not give up the idea of a paper in which he could exercise his editorial powers upon miscellaneous subjects, an idea close to his heart. On November 18, 1820, he was pleased to announce that interest in the proposed *Moral Advocate* had become sufficient for him to start the publication of the monthly.[39] The first number of this paper, similar in size to the *Philanthropist*, appeared in March 1821. This newspaper so resembles a periodical that it is hard to define it exactly. According to the opening editorial, the *Moral Advocate* was to be devoted to

[34] The foregoing estimate of subjects treated in the *Philanthropist* is supplemented by Walsh, *loc. cit.*, 182.

[35] *Philanthropist*, v, no. 2 (Nov. 11, 1820), 30.

[36] *Ibid.*, ii, no. 9 (June 12, 1819), 143.

[37] *Ibid.*, no. 13 (July 10, 1819), 208; *ibid.*, no. 16 (July 31, 1819), 254.

[38] *Ibid.*, i, no. 13 (March 6, 1819), 208.

[39] *Ibid.*, v, no. 4 (Nov. 18, 1820), 51.

articles dealing with "War, Dueling, Capital Punishments and Prison Discipline."[40] The *Moral Advocate* contained a much larger proportion than the *Philanthropist* of articles written by the editor or condensed into his own phraseology. This is a much more personal work, intended to supplement the *Philanthropist*, rather than to supplant it. The theses of the publication were as follows:

1. War and military fines must be abolished.
2. Prisons must be institutions of correction rather than of punishment.
3. Dueling is an anachronism.
4. Man has no right to take human life even in punishment of murder.[41]

Elisha sent many complimentary copies to prospective subscribers. He advertised that the payment of $1.00, due upon receiving the second issue, would constitute payment for twelve issues, or a year's subscription; also that the regular sixteen pages would be supplemented when the size of the clientele permitted.[42] The second issue did not appear until June because of the slowness of the mails carrying subscriptions, and also because of an extensive ministerial trip which Bates undertook.[43] The third issue was printed in August, when the editor reported that the subscription was respectable but not large. He had sent many copies marked "Presented" to governmental officials and other important people. All copies sent and not so marked were considered bids for subscriptions. Certainly Elisha Bates was not backward in furthering the sale of his publications. He noticed with pleasure the tolerance of several subscribers who were young men in the militia.[44] The fourth issue appeared in September. Elisha had been on another extensive tour of several weeks.[45] Unfortunately, we do not know where he went on these ministerial tours.

[40] *Moral Advocate*, i, no. 1 (March 1821), 1.
[41] I have examined all three volumes of the *Moral Advocate*.
[42] *Ibid.*, i, no. 1 (March 1821), 16.
[43] *Ibid.*, 17.
[44] *Ibid.*, 33.
[45] *Ibid.*, 49.

Not until November did the fifth number appear. The excuse given this time was the necessity of reprinting early issues to complete the files of late subscribers.[46] The sixth issue came out in December with an eight-page supplement to help excuse further delay.[47] The seventh issue, printed in January, terminated the experimental stage of the paper. From that time on Bates seems to have made greater efforts and produced his monthly paper each month. Evidently the new paper was successful. By January 1822 the money depression, occasioned by a flood of bank failures in 1819, had been mitigated. The March issue, like the December one, carried an eight-page supplement. Bates made an effort to keep his promise. His promises in his later publishing work could be characterized as empty gestures. He still faced the serious problem of whether his prospective subscribers were indifferent to his paper or not. Bates asked the postmasters to inform him of these uninterested persons.[48] The mails had been very irregular; a friend in Baltimore had received only the first and eighth issues.[49] In May Bates sought more correspondents, having one in St. Clairsville and one at Hartford, Connecticut, at the time. He was happy to report that the *Moral Advocate*, in direct contrast with the *Philanthropist*, raised no controversy because of the theses which it discussed. As with the latter paper, he sought postpaid correspondence.[50]

The *Moral Advocate* continued on its even course. It was neither a failure nor was it very successful. Finally Bates brought the third volume to a close in December 1824. He was losing interest in periodical publications, and had decided to turn to the writing of a history of Quakerism.[51] If more complete material were available, the writer feels confident that it could be proved that Elisha Bates was an authoritative historian, especially in church and Quaker history.

[46] *Ibid.*, 65.

[47] *Ibid.*, 97.

[48] *Ibid.*, no. 9 (March 1822), 136.

[49] *Ibid.*, Supplement, 153.

[50] *Ibid.*, no. 12 (June 1822), 189.

[51] MS letter from Bates to Thomas Rotch, undated. Rotch died in September 1823.

Before the *Moral Advocate* ceased to be published, Elisha had given up the *Philanthropist*. On April 20, 1822, he wrote an editorial explaining that the reasons for his suspending publication were:

1. Lack of local news.[52]
2. Lack of tales of diversion.
3. His own attitude toward slavery, which was milder than that of his public.[53]

To those we may add a fourth. This was the desire for space in which to write his own ideas, since he could no longer be satisfied with reprints from other newspapers. This fact makes Bates a pioneer in the movement of small local papers away from national news. Unfortunately he did not replace the national news with items of local interest except in rare cases.

NOT SATISFIED with these two papers he published a quarterly magazine called the *Medical and Botanical Repository*. Besides his accomplishments as a school teacher, a publisher, a printer, a writer, a bookbinder, he had some skill as a doctor. I have not seen a copy of the *Medical and Botanical Repository*. Apparently the first number appeared on April 29, 1822; it is not known how long the paper continued.[54] It was probably discontinued before 1824, the year of the publication of his first book. Bates had started to write a history of Quakerism but he became fascinated with the intricate metaphysical implications of trinitarian theology. Hence when the book appeared from his own press it was denominated *The Doctrine of Friends; or Principles of the Christian Religion, as Held by the Society of Friends Commonly Called Quakers*. This book met with universal approval from the Friends of Ohio Yearly Meeting, who pointed with pride to their great theologian-publisher. In fact the Meeting for Sufferings in 1825 went on record as endorsing this

[52] Late in the thirties Elisha Bates published a paper called the *Life Boat*, which carried local news and promoted religious reform and temperance. (This item taken from a newspaper clipping, signed by Mrs. N. J. McConahey, in the Mt. Pleasant Women's Club Scrapbook.)

[53] Walsh, *loc. cit.*, 188.

[54] *Ibid.*, 189.

volume as compatible with the Discipline.[55] This work proved to be of great popularity and went through at least five American editions and through several small and one large authorized edition in England.[56] In addition a smaller book published in 1825 was approved. This work, commonly known as the "Extracts," was a historical and doctrinal study of the writings of George Fox, Robert Barclay, and William Penn, with the object in mind of proving that they believed in the divinity of Christ and the inspiration of the scriptures. This seemingly harmless publication was packed with dynamite. A third publication upon which the Yearly Meeting laid its blessing was a poem entitled "The Retrospect." Its eighty-seven stanzas recited the goodness of God to man.[57] Elizabeth Jenkins, aged in years, a resident of Mt. Pleasant today, testifies that Bates was acknowledged the strongest man in Ohio Yearly Meeting.

In 1822 when the Minutes of the Yearly Meeting were published for the first time, the contract went to Elisha Bates. Previously to that time he had printed all special reports for the Society. He continued to do so for a decade.[58]

THE LAST publication which Bates edited in the decade 1817 to 1827 was the *Miscellaneous Repository*, amongst Friends the most famous of his newspapers. It ran from 1827 to 1837, a decade in the history of Quakerism which contributed the most important factors to the development of present-day Quakerism. It is this writer's firm belief that a close study of the entire publication of the *Miscellaneous Repository* would be the best means for understanding the spirit of change which disrupted and nearly destroyed Quakerism.

[55] Bates printed the minute of approval from the Meeting for Sufferings on the first unnumbered page of each work so approved.

[56] A more thorough investigation and summary of the editions of this work and of all Bates's publications was undertaken by Elliott How Morse in his *Bibliography of Elisha Bates*, and is now in the possession of Haverford College library.

[57] I have examined copies of the "Extracts" and of "The Retrospect."

[58] Many of these documents, though unsigned by the printer, may be identified by the print. After 1828 the contracts were divided, as there were other Quaker printers in town.

The first issue of this controversial paper announced that it was devoted to the cause of improving the taste for miscellaneous reading, with especial emphasis upon the lessons of history. The point was made that this was a strictly nonsectarian paper, which would nevertheless avoid publishing articles contrary to the doctrines of the Society of Friends.[59] Never did a prospectus lead the unsuspecting reader farther astray. The second issue of this monthly paper, of the same size as the *Philanthropist*, was divided between articles bearing upon the Society, and Bates's editorials defending his reasoning in the *Doctrine of Friends* and in the "Extracts." [60] The sixth issue, which appeared in November, was devoted in its entirety to this controversy.[61] Evidently Bates felt no qualms of conscience in perverting the purpose of the publication. And it is not inconceivable that he started this paper with that purpose in mind, and camouflaged it by a statement of very general and inoffensive objectives. Neither did he show an active conscience as far as delaying issues was concerned. True he did print a supplement or two,[62] but it took him eighteen months to produce the first volume. These delays may be partially excused by his statement in the first issue of the second volume, namely that he had been without a helper at first, and that he had done extensive traveling. He had also been ill, his daughter Rebecca was in bed, and his wife had died after months of illness.[63] Further discussion of the editorial policies of the *Miscellaneous Repository* is beyond the range of our immediate decade. On the other hand it is wise to note that the monthly paper cost $2.00 for a year's subscription, payable upon receiving the first number. Bates continued his irregular and aggressive modes of acquiring subscriptions, the number of which had risen phenomenally because of the importance of his controversy. His list of subscription agents was small, but had included New York and New England within its territory.[64]

[59] *Miscellaneous Repository* (Feb. 1827), 3.
[60] *Ibid.* (March 1827), 43-58.
[61] *Ibid.*, 153-192.
[62] *Ibid.*, i, no. 3 (May 1827); *ibid.*, no. 6. (Nov. 1827).
[63] *Ibid.*, ii, no. 1 (Jan. 1, 1829), 1.
[64] *Ibid.*, 16.

During these years Mt. Pleasant had at least two other periodicals, both about half the size of the *Philanthropist.* One, the *Juvenile Museum,* was published by an early women's club in town. It appeared September 16, 1822.[65] A second was the *Social Circle,*[66] "conducted" by Rebecca Bates, daughter of Elisha and Sarah Bates. This little sheet appeared eight times from May 1827, until October 1828, when Rebecca nearly died of an unknown nervous disease. This paper is of interest today largely because it was an early forerunner of women's-rights papers.

From this brief sketch we can infer that Elisha Bates's printing press was the center of book culture in Mt. Pleasant during the first decade of his residence there. Bates's publishing activities fall into four periods:

1. Period of emphasis upon slavery and of articles of general importance to the nation and to politics.
2. Period of reform editorials, especially upon war.
3. Period of doctrinal book and pamphlet publications.
4. Period of defense of the theses of these publications.

Elisha Bates's interests became increasingly more otherworldly. His press devoted itself to orthodoxy and he became a leading figure in the Hicksite and Beaconite controversies. As a result of his stand in the second quarrel he was disowned by the Society and forgotten by its historians. Unfortunate as this later period was, it does not detract from the courageous spirit which he displayed in bringing culture and social reform into what was essentially a frontier community.

[65] I have examined part of the first volume of this paper.

[66] Except for four missing sheets I have studied this paper in its entirety.

BENJAMIN WEST'S famous painting of William Penn's treaty with the Indians, reproduced in black and white in a recent issue of the BULLETIN OF FRIENDS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION (vol. 28, p. 50), has been reproduced in color in *Life* for June 19, 1939 (vol. 6, No. 25), p. 27.

WILLIAM PENN, PRAGMATIST

By E. C. O. Beatty [1]

THE PHILOSOPHY of William Penn was rather the product of an active and contentious life than the carefully studied system of a closet philosopher. He was not content to adopt the detached attitude of the scientific observer; nor did he, like the mathematician, choose to look upon the universe *sub specie aeternitatis*. Though a Quaker—and a Quaker who knew Stoicism—Penn was not gifted with that essential characteristic of the seer, so aptly defined by Matthew Arnold—the ability to see life steadily and to see it whole. Serenity was not his constant companion; and if at times he was contemplative, his life was too full of distractions for much purely speculative thinking. If he was not original in his contributions to the literature of his day, neither was he consistent in his borrowings from others. He was fundamentally religious, and his reasoning was more often inspirational and *ex cathedra* than logical and inductive. By nature a controversialist, he regarded his professed principles rather as positions to be defended than as hypotheses to be examined. William Penn was more a man of faith and action than a man of thought.

His ideas of the origin of the state and his conception of the nature of sovereignty exhibit striking contradictions and inconsistencies. To explain the beginnings of society be blended Genesis with Hobbes and Locke. To account for government he postulated a Divine origin and a patriarchal development; and on another occasion he chose to explain human association on the Lockian ground of consent. He thought, sometimes, that political authority was an ordinance of God; he declared, at other times, that government "must either stand upon will and power, or condition and contract," and that "every man is a sort of little sovereign to himself." He asserted on one occasion that the "Divine right of government" was settled "beyond exception"; he wrote on another, like Rousseau, of man's coming "to incor-

[1] Professor E. C. O. Beatty of Northern Illinois State Teachers College is the author of *William Penn as Social Philosopher*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1939, xv + 338 pp.

porate himself," and submitting the "royalty," with which in the original state of nature each human individual is endowed, "to the convenience of the whole." Usually a pluralist in his interpretation of the nature of sovereignty, he nevertheless could advocate, in true Quaker fashion, submission to the decrees of government except when those decrees touched upon conscience, and using the words of the Apostle he could urge men to "let every soul be subject to the higher powers, for there is no power but of God."

Government, Penn thought, was a means, not an end. The purpose of government was "the glory of Almighty God and the good of mankind." He stated in other phraseology that "the reason and end of government" was properly "the civil interest of the people." Such a definition was broad enough to make of his ideal state a markedly paternalistic society. As to forms of political organization, his earlier draft of the proposed Frame for Pennsylvania recites that the "manner or frame of government" is "a matter of great weight, but once to be well done, and that is by the founders of governments." Later, in the final draft of the first Frame, he refused to choose between monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy; and solved the question by declaring that men were more important than laws and forms of government, that "any government is free to the people under it (whatever be the frame) where the laws rule and the people are a party to those laws . . . ."

PROBABLY because of his Quaker faith, Penn showed at times an equalitarianism in his dealings with the settlers in his province that might be considered democratic; but on other occasions he manifested an arbitrary spirit that was the antithesis of democracy. If belief in representative government makes one a republican, that Penn was. He opposed, however, the theory of parliamentary supremacy and forcefully supported the delegation theory as the true explanation of the source of legislative power. He praised James II for the latter's arbitrary suspension of the penal laws. His aphorisms on government, written apparently while he had temporarily withdrawn from public life, give no indication that he ever seriously contemplated

any type of political organization for his native land other than the monarchical.

Penn exalted what he considered the fundamental guarantees of liberty and property. He declared certain inalienable rights to be superior to Parliament; this "eternal law," the *jus naturale*, he pronounced "umpire between King, Lords, and Commons." Enactments of these and lesser agencies must not violate the fundamental provisions of the constitution. Justice, which he frequently extolled, implied the inviolability of property, trial by jury, and other historic rights of Englishmen comprised in the phrase "due process of law," legal punishment upon conviction for crime, the strict observance of lawful agreements. Freedom of speech, he thought, did not properly include the right to abuse magistrates, to write seditiously, to blaspheme, or to swear. Scolding persons, defamers, and persons spreading false news were deemed to have overpassed their lawful rights. Freedom of petition he consistently urged and permitted, even when the petitioners addressed him with respect to grievances which they thought he should right. He opposed violent political revolutions, but he was quite willing to alter his first Frame of Government. In 1701, though this time with reluctance, he again permitted his colonists a more liberal charter.

As a Quaker, Penn should have believed in the minimum of political activity for the true Christian; and in his pious advice to his children he recommended that they shun governmental concerns. Nevertheless, he provided in the constitution for Pennsylvania for widespread participation in government by properly qualified voters. The qualification required was the holding of property or the payment of taxes. In the first Frame Penn divided the functions of the legislature between two houses in much the same fashion as did Harrington in his scheme of a "proposing" and a "resolving" body. Under this Frame the governor was a relatively weak official; the lower house had only the power of passing, rejecting, or amending the measures proposed by the council; and the latter body was possessed of wide powers.

Penn's earlier schemes and political pamphlets show him to have been in some respects quite liberal in his views and even

to an extent democratic or equalitarian, but his later expressions evince a quite different attitude. His letters in the latter decades of his life reveal a man quite disillusioned with the workings of the idealistic commonwealth which he had planned and described as a "holy experiment." Even earlier he had expressed a low opinion of the mob, and he appears to have accepted quite literally the doctrine of the fall of man. He expressed himself frequently to Logan during the last ten years of his active life with reference to the ingratitude and selfishness of his colonists and threatened stern measures upon those whom he described as unruly. On one occasion he expressed the desire that they "be ruled without vexatious assemblies." In general, in spite of the earlier gestures toward a democratic regime, Penn was by nature authoritarian. A paternalist is more easily a benevolent despot than is a democrat.

WILLIAM PENN was a patriotic Englishman. He frequently referred with pride to the rights and freedom belonging to his English nationality. He indicated by words and deeds his interest in building up his country's colonial empire. Though his principal motive for colonization was certainly not imperialistic, he showed on several occasions that he did not regard as mere form the charteral declaration of purpose in the royal grant of Pennsylvania, "to enlarge our British empire." During the second period of his personal administration in America, he tried vigorously and with considerable success to enforce the British acts of trade. His letter to Marlborough about the extension of the boundaries of English America to the north and west at the expense of the French indicated territorial ambitions for his country that would have done credit to William Pitt or Cecil Rhodes.

Like later British and American statesmen, he had to face that crucial problem of early American political history, the task of establishing limited government in an efficient imperial order. His best known contribution toward the creation of such a body politic was the plan for a union of the colonies, largely (though he said not principally) designed as a defensive measure against the hostile French. Of no lesser potential importance was the

conference of provincial governors at New York in 1700, in the promotion of which Penn seems to have been the leading spirit. He attempted further to support the ideal of colonial unity by the initiation of a system of intercolonial correspondence, which under more favorable circumstances was to bear substantial fruit three generations later. His negotiations with the Indians were in some instances animated by the desire to weaken among them the influence of the French and to substitute for it the economic and political domination of the English. As a colonial statesman William Penn exhibited no mean ability.

The Quaker Penn was a pacifist, if by that term is meant one who generally abhors and opposes the exercise of armed force between nations. He wrote and spoke as one who wished to quiet dissension and keep the peace through justice to all parties. His career, nevertheless, was full of stormy controversies. Many of his writings were polemics, and he was much occupied in the belligerent championship with voice and pen of those causes which he thought sacred. Among the principles which he stoutly defended to the end of his active life was the right of the members of his sect to be free from the military service to which they so strongly objected.

As a practical statesmen, he attempted through what seemed just dealing with the Indians to preserve the people of his province from the horrors of warfare with the savages. He tried to build a buffer between the English and the French settlements by winning the friendship of the neighboring tribes. He exhibited, moreover, in his relations with the non-English whites in his territory, an exemplary freedom from the narrow nationalistic prejudices commonly characteristic of the chauvinist. Even toward the French, so often at war with his own country, he showed none of the bitter hatred generally both productive of and consequent upon international conflict. Naturalization in the American dominions of William Penn was easily accomplished, and men of other than English blood were both welcomed and accorded rights in all respects similar to those of Penn's own countrymen. As a colonial administrator the Quaker Founder recognized the probability of war. He did not explicitly justify

defensive warfare, but it is not clear that as a practical matter military operations demonstrably defensive in nature would have met his disapproval. He certainly believed in the exercise of lawful force by constituted authority to preserve the domestic peace.

Penn's *magnum opus* in the cause of international peace is the *Essay towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe.* He outlined in this work a plan not unlike other schemes, both earlier and later in date, to guarantee the peace of Europe through an international diet or league. He defended this proposal as almost certain to eliminate armed conflict, but it seems clear that ultimately the sanction of the league of peace would rest upon the military power of the united nations. Perhaps the plan was essentially no less practicable than more modern attempts to maintain the peace of the world by force or by sanctions depending in the last analysis upon force.

PENN devoted much of the extraordinary activity of his life to the struggle for religious toleration. In speech and pamphlet he opposed such persecuting measures as the Conventicle Act, the Five-Mile Act, and the Tests, which the Anglican masters of England had enacted to penalize Roman Catholics, Quakers, and other Protestant dissenters. The obscure story of Penn's activities at the court of James II and in the service of that monarch is explicable most easily as part of his lifelong effort to win and preserve toleration. He expressed at one time the desire that Roman Catholics be granted the liberties which he asked for Quakers, though on other occasions he demanded security from "Popery and slavery" and urged that the electors choose for Parliament "sincere Protestants." He wrote several essays against Roman Catholicism. He was alarmed, like the most loyal Anglican, at the reported Popish Plot. He demanded for Quakers the privilege of not swearing, but the test he proposed to accomplish such relief for his own sect would have barred Roman Catholics. Most interested, of course, in securing relief from persecution in England, he attempted in journeys and letters to the Continent to secure toleration there. He condemned the policy of Louis XIV in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes

and in the persecutions which followed, and he offered to the harried French Protestants a haven in Pennsylvania.

Penn based his objections to religious persecution not only upon the Scriptures but also upon the English constitution. The penal laws relating to religion made property insecure; therefore, religious intolerance seemed to him a violation of ancient and fundamental English rights. He argued that illegality was tyranny and that the "power of England is a legal power." Yet, in the name of toleration, he applauded the Declarations of Indulgence promulgated by James II. Apparently in the faith that the end justified the means, Penn thus seemed to some of his contemporaries to be willing to jeopardize the advantages gained by Parliament in the long struggle with the King, if thereby freedom of conscience for Dissenters could be secured. It should be noted, however, that he tempered his support of this exercise of the royal dispensing power by advising that subsequent approval by Parliament be secured.

Penn's most important motive in the founding of Pennsylvania was his desire to establish a refuge for his persecuted co-religionists. This purpose is clear from his writings in the earliest extant draft of the first Frame to his latest letters, composed shortly before the onset of his mental incapacity. This toleration was not, however, to be complete. It was to be limited to Christians, or at least to worshipers of God. Atheists were not included. The Charter of Privileges of 1701, which should not be attributed solely and probably not even principally to Penn though he accepted it, required the belief in Jesus Christ as a qualification for those who were to hold executive or legislative office in Pennsylvania.

A long list could be compiled of violent pamphlets written by Penn in years of religious controversy; yet he sometimes advocated what he called a "general and practical religion." This creed or way of life was based upon the Jewish decalog and the Christian Sermon on the Mount, and Penn defined it in the well-known words of the Apostle James. The concept seemed broad enough to obviate the "uncharitable contests" of men about religion. The interpretation of Christianity thus suggested is perhaps more generally held today than when Penn found good reason

for its acceptance. Yet it will be noted that to the end of his life Penn remained a Quaker. He must certainly have found the views of Friends broad and charitable enough to comprehend general and practical religion.

Penn chose to resolve the ancient and difficult issue between church and state by the famous formula of Jesus. Though in actual practice he might have found the distinction of Caesar's concerns from those of God more difficult in the England of a Church established by law than the Judean Christians found it under the tolerant or indifferent pagan governors of the Julio-Claudian emperors, Penn no doubt recognized that the epigram possessed the virtues of undeniable sanctity, authority, and apparent finality. It fitted excellently, moreover, into the contention most dear to him, that religion was not a matter of state concern at all but the most intimate object of the individual conscience. Erastianism he thoroughly and consistently detested.

[To be concluded.]

SESQUICENTENNIAL OF FARMINGTON, NEW YORK 1789-1939*

By Alexander M. Stewart

THE EPIC significance of Farmington in Ontario County, New York, is that Quaker farmers from the Friends' meeting in North Adams, Massachusetts, were the pioneers of all Quakerism in western New York, and also they were the first white men to bring their families into the vast forest of New York State west of Seneca Lake for the purpose of transforming the Senecas' wilderness hunting ground into a white man's homeland.

Jemima Wilkinson, the "universal Friend," a person of unusual religious qualities, but not a Quaker, who started the town of Jerusalem (region of Penn Yan, New York), arrived in the Seneca country about the same time, but did not purchase lands until later. There were others who arrived in the Seneca country in 1789, but the Quakers were the first to purchase land from

* Part of a paper read at the New York Yearly Meeting at Keuka Park, New York, July 1, 1939.

the newly established Phelps and Gorham Land Office in Canandaigua. The Senecas had had 170 years of experience with the French and English in 1789, when the Quakers appeared in the region of Farmington—a time of romantic exploration, a time of residence of many devout French missionaries, and a time of war and tragedy with regrettable events on all sides.

During this early period the six million acres of western New York remained an unplowed wilderness, inhabited by less than six thousand Seneca Indians, and it was considered valuable only as it contributed to the fur trade. This wilderness covered not only all western New York but all of our now most populous States between the Great Lakes and the Mississippi River.

When, 150 years ago, a Quaker first planted wheat in the soil of Farmington, the most amazing movement of English-speaking humanity and one of the most profound causes of modern civilization was begun.

In one generation after 1789 nearly all the lands of western New York were occupied and most of the cities and towns were founded, and in a few brief years over a million civilized inhabitants came to live where less than 6,000 Senecas had lived before; and the ancestors of scores of millions of people flooded into the lands adjoining the old Seneca country and into the broad regions westward. Nathan Comstock at Farmington gave the first magic touch which transmuted the wilderness into such wealth of future ages as no man can count.

The said Nathan Comstock and his two sons Otis and Darius from North Adams, Massachusetts, and Robert Hathaway, came to what is now Farmington in the summer of 1789, in time to fit the land and plant fall wheat. Nathan Aldrich came by boat also in 1789 via the Mohawk River–Oneida Lake–Seneca River canoe route. Otis Comstock remained at Farmington through the winter. His father, his brother Darius, Robert Hathaway, and Nathan Aldrich went back to Massachusetts to bring their families and friends.

On February 14, 1790 Nathan Comstock, Nathan Aldrich, Isaac Hathaway, and others, and on February 15, Nathan Herendeen, started with ox teams from Berkshire County, Massachusetts, bringing their families with them. Most of the party

traveled together following the great middle trail of the Iroquois, much of which was not yet more than a footpath from Albany to Canandaigua although it was a thousand years old. Nathan Comstock and Benjamin Russell, acting as representatives of the company, had obtained a deed for the company in their own names from the new Phelps and Gorham Land Office in Canandaigua for thirty thousand acres.

This land lay in the present township of Farmington, beginning at an east-and-west line four miles north of the modern city of Canandaigua. Part of the township of Manchester on the east of Farmington also was included in this Quaker tract. The farms in this tract were numbered and were assigned to owners by drawing lots. The forest was cleared. Log houses were built, and in a few seasons returns from the wheat harvest began to come in. A flour mill was built, and in the next eighty years the flour of western New York became famous throughout the world.

The North Adams Friends' meeting had disowned these headstrong adventurers when they had left for the wild west Indian country. But in 1794 there was a great council assembled in Canandaigua attended by hundreds of Indians to reconsider the status of Indian lands. The result of this council is known in history as the Pickering Treaty. (The original treaty is still preserved in the Historical Society's library, Canandaigua.) William Savery and three other Quakers from the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting attended this treaty council to see that the Indians were fairly treated.

At this time these Pennsylvania Quakers visited Farmington and spread a good report of the Farmington Friends, so that the Quakers of Farmington were restored to fellowship in 1803.

The first Farmington Friends' log meeting house was erected in 1796 on or very near the site of the present meeting house. It was the first Quaker meeting house west of Oneida. Other Friends' meetings originated from Farmington, and Farmington became the parent meeting of Friends' meetings throughout the vast regions of new settlements. For example, the Scipio Friends' meeting in Cayuga County, New York, was authorized in 1808 by the Friends in Farmington. (See Emily Howland, *Friends in Cayuga County, New York, 1795-1828.*)

In Rochester, which was founded in 1812, the first Friends' meeting house was built on North Fitzhugh Street in 1822, opposite the present Brick Church Institute. Quaker meetings prospered in Rochester for the next fifty years. Quakers aided the escape of fugitive slaves, and worked for women's rights, being in sympathy with Susan B. Anthony, herself the daughter of Quakers; the Quaker Dr. Edward Mott Moore was active in promoting Rochester parks, and William Pryor Letchworth gave his name to Letchworth Park.

FARMINGTON became known in Norway. Lars Larson, leader of the Friends' meeting in Stavanger, Norway, heard of the Friends in America. Knowing that there would be Friends in Farmington, New York, he emigrated to America in 1825 with the band of fifty Norwegians, called in history the "Sloopers" because of the small sloop *Restoration* in which they crossed the Atlantic Ocean. He established himself in Rochester as a builder of boats for the new Erie Canal. On Fifth month, the twenty-sixth day, 1826, he was received into the Friends' meeting in Rochester. The trust which people put in the sincere friendly spirit of Quakers was exemplified in Lars Larson, for unofficially and without reward he became the chief agent and adviser of the many Norwegians emigrating to America. Without delaying in New York City, Norwegians came to the Quaker, Lars Larson, in Rochester, knowing that from him they would receive unselfish advice as to where to settle in America. At one time, doubtless aided by other Quaker friends, he entertained 200 Norwegians. These 200 Norwegians settled at La Salle, Illinois, after being advised by Friend Larson. Larson should be counted as one of the founders of La Salle, although we have no record of his going there.

Larson is only one example of Quaker influence reaching out from Farmington as a center. It was the fame of Farmington which brought Larson to western New York from Norway.

On Eighth month, the twenty-third day, 1820, at a monthly meeting in Farmington, Friends at Rochester, Henrietta, Riga, and Mendon, all in Monroe County, were authorized to hold monthly meetings in Rochester.

Photo A. B. Katkamaier, Farmington, N. Y.

The Old Friends' Meeting House at Farmington, New York. This superseded the first meeting house, a log building erected in 1796 on the grounds of the present Friends' church and cemetery. It became the Hicksite meeting house after the separation. It is now used for farm storage.

Photo Rochester *Democrat and Chronicle*

Farmington Friends' Church of 1940, in use, on the grounds of the original log meeting house of 1796. In the foreground a monument marking the site of the earliest meeting house.

Despite the fact that Rochesterville, the latest infant prodigy among the villages of western New York, grew from one log cabin in 1812 to a city of nearly 20,000 inhabitants in 1834, nevertheless rural Farmington continued to be a Quaker center for many years. Many yearly meetings were held in the old barnlike frame building which stands across the road from the present Farmington Friends' Church.

The place of Farmington in American history can be understood better when it is seen as destiny's climax of 170 years of previous history. How did it happen that two men, Oliver Phelps and Nathaniel Gorham, had concentrated in their hands the sale of millions of acres, so that they had a land office in Canandaigua in 1789 and caused this region to be populated with emigrants from New England and eastern New York?

THE CONCENTRATION of ownership of this region began with the victories of the Senecas in an earlier century. The Hurons north of Lake Ontario were conquered by the Senecas in 1648-1650. The Neutrals living in the Lockport-Niagara region were scattered or captured in 1651. The Eries, south of the Neutrals in the area of Salamanca, New York, were defeated in 1656. "The Senecas have defeated the Andastes," wrote Father Julien Garnier, a resident pastor in 1674 at Sonontuan (Rochester Junction). The Andastes occupied the Chemung and upper Susquehanna valleys. By these said victories, the Senecas became the first complete owners of 6,000,000 acres which now are western New York.

Down from Canada came the French, who having begun explorations of western New York in 1616 gradually came to dominate the Senecas through the following hundred years. The Senecas being influenced by their Huron Christian captives invited French missionaries, who responded by coming to reside and preach the gospel among them from 1668 to 1684 and from 1701 to 1710.

Disturbed by the machinations of English traders, and by an effort of the French to check Seneca aggression against the tribes friendly to the French, the Senecas and other Iroquois broke the long peace of the missionary period and began to menace the

existence of the French in America. Three French military expeditions established the dominance of the French over the Indians of western New York: the first under Governor de la Barre, 1684, to the neighborhood of Port Ontario; the second under Governor de Nonville, 1687, to Seneca villages inland from Irondequoit Bay; the third under Governor Frontenac, 1696, to Onondaga and villages near modern Syracuse.

By these French victories over the Senecas, western New York became more securely than ever the "Old Frontier of France" and part of the empire of that glorious spendthrift, Louis XIV.

Despite the treaty of Utrecht in 1714, which was intended to give western New York to the English, the Senecas continued to reside on their own land, and the French continued to dominate the region with Fort Niagara as the center of French control.

The English took Fort Niagara from the French in 1759, and by treaty the French retired from North America in 1763.

During the succeeding years the English gained such influence over the Senecas that the Senecas were persuaded to side with the English during the American Revolution and were led to commit some depredations against a few outlying American hamlets, so that western New York was in danger of remaining a part of Canada.

An American expedition under General John Sullivan in 1779, the most tragic and destructive calamity that ever happened to the Seneca Indians, weakened and humbled them so much that soon afterward they were ready to treat with white men for the sale of their ancestral lands.

After the close of the Revolution in 1783, Massachusetts claimed the Indian lands because of an early charter granted by James, King of England, despite the fact that Massachusetts had taken the lead in repudiating all other authority of the English crown. New York also claimed rights to Seneca lands because of treaties with the Iroquois League, of which the Senecas were members.

The conflicting claims of these two States were decided at the Treaty of Hartford (Connecticut) in December 1786. The government of the Seneca lands was given to the State of New York, and the right to own and sell the lands under the laws of

New York was given to the State of Massachusetts. Among the many agents who sought a chance to deal in these lands, Oliver Phelps and Nathaniel Gorham of Massachusetts were chosen to purchase the lands from Massachusetts and to "extinguish" the claims of the Indians.

Within a few months after the Treaty of Hartford a land office was established in Canandaigua, and the Farmington Quakers were the first purchasers. The total Indian land involved was all of New York State from Seneca Lake westward, 6,000,000 acres. Phelps and Gorham, however, obtained rights from the Senecas only to lands east of the Genesee River and for a mill tract west of the river from Avon to Lake Ontario. Successors of Phelps and Gorham obtained the rest of the six million acres from the Senecas (except Indian reservations) at the Treaty of Big Tree near Geneseo in 1797. The Holland Land Office at Batavia followed the Treaty of the Big Tree.

But the North Adams Quakers who came to Farmington were the first settlers to purchase land from the first land office (Canandaigua) in America. The transformation of the wilderness to the abodes of civilization began with them.

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Samuel D. Champlain, *Works*, 6 vols., Toronto 1922-36: see vol. iii, pp. 213 ff.

Frank H. Severance, *An Old Frontier of France . . .*, New York 1917.

QUAKER RESEARCH IN PROGRESS OR UNPUBLISHED

THE following list of present or recent studies in Quakerism continues the series of such notices that have appeared in recent issues of the BULLETIN. It is of course improbable that the list is complete; but it is interesting as showing where the present frontiers of Quaker research are.

Information of other Quaker studies in progress but not published should be sent to Henry J. Cadbury, Chairman of the Committee on Historical Research, 7 Buckingham Place, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Moses Bailey, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Connecticut. *Early Relations of Quakerism and Islam.* (The author hopes to gather evidence of contacts between the two groups up to the time of the establishment of the Ram Allah and Brummana missionary developments.) Research begun.

Martha Bunting, 1520 Spruce Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. *The Bunting - Ridgway - Andrews - Lloyd Families, with Closely Affiliated Families.* (Brief sketches of the events in which they played a part and of the Friends' meetings to which many belonged.) Manuscript almost completed. To be privately printed.

Thomas B. Foster, Jr., 600 W. 122d Street, New York, N. Y., *The Ethics of Quakerism.* (Historical development of the ethical aspect of the Quaker faith, with a probable emphasis on the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.) A paper prepared for a course in Christian Ethics at Union Theological Seminary.

Nelson B. Gaskill, 726 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C. (1) *Biography and Bibliography of Stephen C. Ustick.* (Appreciation of the Quaker printer, of Mount Holly, New Jersey, who lived in the late eighteenth century.) Manuscript partly completed. (2) *The Two Locations of Mount Holly (New Jersey) Meeting.* (Location and boundaries in relation to the development of roads in Burlington County, New Jersey.)

Arthur D. Graeff, 5740 Oxford Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. (While studying in Europe as a Fellow of the Oberlaender Trust, Arthur Graeff secured 2500 microfilm copies of manuscripts in depositories at London and The Hague, on the subject of Palatine migrations to America. These copies are being studied, with a view to the preparation of an article on the part played by the Palatines in the settlement of Pennsylvania.)

Lloyd Wilfred Griffen, 34 Haseltine Street, Bradford, Massachusetts. *"Ethan Spike": Matthew Franklin Whittier.* (A study of M. F. Whittier's life, literary work, and associations with his brother, the poet.) University of Maine, English, Senior Essay, 1941. Research just begun.

Francis Harper, 224 South Chester Road, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania. *Manuscripts of John and William Bartram.* (Preparation for publication, with editorial notes and illustrations, of a John Bartram MS of 1765-66 and a William Bartram MS of 1773-75. Each manuscript deals with travels and observations, particularly on natural history, in the southeastern states.) Material half completed.

Herbert Heaton, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota. *Anglo-American Trade in Textiles, 1770-1850.* (Based partly on business records of Thompsons, Crowthers, Wrights, and other Quaker families living in New York or Yorkshire.) Material almost completed.

Oliver S. Heckman, 3105 Chestnut Street, Camp Hill, Pennsylvania. *Northern Church Penetration of the South, 1860-1880.* (This study includes the activities of Northern religious groups and nondenominational organizations in the South during the War between the States and reconstruction.) Duke University, History, Ph.D. 1939.

Helen G. Hole, Westtown School, Westtown, Pennsylvania. (1) *History of Westtown School, 1799-1940.* Material partially completed. (2) *Mary Anne Schimmelpenninck (née Galton).* (The story of her life, circle and writings.) Columbia, Philosophy, M.A. 1938.

Glenn P. Holman, 37 Port Norfolk Street, Neponset, Massachusetts. *Early Quakerism as Exemplified in the Life and Thought of Isaac Penington.* Edinburg, Church History and Theology, Ph.D. 1939.

Burton Alva Konkle, 307 So. Chester Road, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania. *David Lloyd and the First Half-Century of Pennsylvania.* (Showing how Lloyd made the "Holy Experiment" a permanent reality between 1656 and 1731.)

Leonard C. Lashley, 385 Grand Avenue, Brooklyn, New York. *Anthony Benezet and the Anti-Slavery Crusade.* (Influence of Benezet in the antislavery movement in Pennsylvania and elsewhere.) Fordham University, History, Ph.D. 1939.

S. Rowland Morgan, 431 East Willow Grove Avenue, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. *The Psychic Element in Quaker Ministry.* (A comparison of psychic manifestations in the history of (1) the Society of Friends; (2) the early Christian Church; (3) modern psychic research; and a discussion of the nature and relation of spiritual and psychic experience.) Collection of material begun.

James E. Moss, 219 E. Gowen Avenue, Chestnut Hill, Pennsylvania. *Early History of Virginia and Maryland.* (Early history of Virginia and Maryland. A study of certain Puritan and Quaker settlements.) Material partly completed.

Grace Lee Nute, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota. *We Were Caesars.* (A biography of Radisson and Des Groseillier, which contains an account of Charles Bayly, a Quaker, who was made governor of Hudson's Bay Company territories in North America in 1670. He died in 1680.) Completed.

Pannell, Ann T. Gary, 25 Patten Place, The Highlands, Tuscaloosa, Alabama. *The Political and Economic Relations of English and American Quakers, 1750-1785.* Oxford, St. Hugh's College, Ph.D. 1935.

Arthur S. Phillips, P. O. Box 1127, Fall River, Massachusetts. *History of Fall River and of Territory around Narragansett Bay.* (Includes an account of Friends.) Material partly completed.

Arthur Stuart Pitt, 104 McCartney Street, Easton, Pennsylvania. *Franklin and Religious Sectarianism.* (Includes a chapter on "Franklin and the Quaker Movement Against Slavery.") Yale, English, Ph.D. 1939.

Mildred A. Purnell, 88 Eighth Street, Salem, New Jersey. *Bernard Barton.* (Title not definitely determined. Will probably contain an account of his life and works.) Columbia University, English, M.A. 1942. Work just begun.

Clara G. Roe, 322 E. Fifth Street, Flint, Michigan. *Nathaniel Greene and the Southern Campaign, 1780-1783.* (This study will deal with Greene's command of the southern department of the Continental Army from 1780 to 1783.) Work will be completed in 1940 or 1941.

Kenneth R. Rossman, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa. *Thomas Mifflin, Revolutionary Patriot.* (Not a complete biography, but will cover the period from the time of Mifflin's entrance into Pennsylvania politics until his resignation from the army.) University of Iowa, History, Ph.D. 1940. Now being written.

Harold E. B. Speight, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania. *Quakers in This Troubled World.* (A popular account of the Quakers.) Whittlesey House, New York City. 1940.

Esther Wilder Stewart, 28 Berwick Road, Rochester, New York. *Thomas Ellwood and Certain Contemporary Quaker Journals.* (A study of the content, form, and distinctive style of some twenty English Quaker autobiographies of the seventeenth century.) Columbia University, English, M.A. 1939.

Henry Lee Swint, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee. *The Northern Teacher in the South, 1862-1870.* (The work, experiences and motives of the teachers sent into the South during the period. Some study of the organizations responsible for the work among the freedmen, including several Quaker organizations.) Vanderbilt University, History, Ph.D. 1939.

Theodore Thayer, 4427 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. *Israel Pemberton, 1715-1779.* University of Pennsylvania, History, Ph.D.

Frederick B. Tolles, 65 Langdon Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts. *The Philadelphia Quakers, 1681-1776.* (A social and cultural history.) Harvard, History, Ph.D.

Elizabeth Janet Gray Vining, 6347 Wayne Avenue, Germantown, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. *The Virginia Exiles.* (The men who went, the issues involved, the journey, life in Winchester, and the return.)

Paul A. W. Wallace, 504 Maple Street, Annville, Pennsylvania. *Conrad Weiser.* (A biography, with special attention to Weiser's career in Pennsylvania, 1729-1760.) Research partially completed.

Mildred Sylvia Willcox, 26 College Avenue, Upper Darby, Pennsylvania. *Friends' Central School System.* (Includes all past and present schools under Hicksite committees in Philadelphia.) Temple University, Education, M.S. 1935.

DOCUMENTS

NEW YORK QUAKERS IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

FEW PERSONS today, with the exception of a scholar, would recognize the name of John Gough. But in his own time he was well known, at least to the Friends, for his four-volume *History of the People Called Quakers* (Dublin 1789-90). During the years when the American colonies were attempting to sever their connections with the mother country, Gough, an Irish Quaker, was gathering material for his *History.* Immediately after the war he wrote to Friends in Pennsylvania, asking for information on the rise and development of Quakerism in America. The Meeting for Sufferings in Philadelphia communicated Gough's request to the New York Meeting for Sufferings in order to obtain their cooperation. The latter body appointed a committee to "enquire after and collect such Transcripts and

accounts [as are] proper to this design. . . ." [1] About two years later the committee submitted its report, which included the following account of the experiences of the Friends in New York during the Revolution.[2]

. . . in the year 1775 there was One Quarterly, three Monthly and Eleven particular Meetings on the Main.[3] About which time

[1] New York Meeting for Sufferings, Minutes, i (1758-1796), 132 (Third mo. 8, 1785). All of the minute books of the two New York Yearly Meetings, with a few exceptions, are in the records vault at the Friends' Seminary, Fifteenth Street and Rutherford Place, New York City, John Cox, Jr., custodian. Those minute books of the Revolutionary period which are elsewhere are:

Westbury Monthly Meeting, Minutes, in the care of William Seaman, Glen Cove, Long Island, New York;

East Hoosack Monthly Meeting, Minutes, in the care of the Town Register, Adams, Massachusetts;

Saratoga Monthly Meeting (Easton), Minutes, in the care of Oren B. Wilbur, Greenwich, N. Y.

[2] *Ibid.*, i, 181-186 (First mo. 9, 1787).

[3] The quarterly meeting referred to was Purchase, established in 1745, to be held alternately at Oblong in Dutchess County and Purchase in Westchester County. The monthly and preparative meetings of which it was composed are given below. Many of the meeting records are incomplete, and the authorities do not always agree as to the dates of establishment. There is an incomplete list of meetings in Rufus M. Jones, *Quakers in the American Colonies*, London 1911, pp. 251-252, *n.* An official list, on which this article is based, is found in the New York Meeting for Sufferings, Minutes, i, 187 (First mo. 9, 1787).

The monthly meetings were: Westchester, now Purchase, in existence by 1725; Oblong, set off from Westchester in 1745, to be held alternately at Nine Partners and Oblong, both in Dutchess County; and Nine Partners, set off from Oblong Monthly Meeting in 1769.

The preparative meetings comprised in Westchester or Purchase Monthly Meeting were:

Westchester, established as a meeting for worship *c.* 1684-85, constituted a preparative meeting in 1716;

Mamaroneck, established as a meeting for worship *c.* 1685 and constituted a preparative meeting in 1728;

Purchase, a meeting for worship by 1725, and constituted a preparative meeting in 1742;

Chappaqua, constituted a preparative meeting in 1745; and

Amawalk, a meeting for worship by 1766 and constituted a preparative meeting by 1774.

the Ware Commenced between Great Britain and the American Colonies, and in the Summer of 1776 the British Army Landed on Long Island, and soon after took possession of New York and advanced as far on the Main as Westchester, in consequence of Which passing and repassing between those places and the other parts of this Government was prohibited under severe penalties which occasioned Various Trials and close exercises to befall our Society in divers places within this Yearly Meeting, in an especial manner when travelling to and from our Monthly, Quarterly, and Yearly Meetings, when Friends in order to attend those Meetings were frequently Obliged to pass the Lines of the contending parties, and over Ground rendered still more perrillous by desperate Men, who from private views of Plunder frequented that part of the Country that lay between the British and American Armies,[4] which was generally a Space of about 15 to 20 Miles,

Oblong Monthly Meeting included Oblong, constituted a preparative meeting *c.* 1741-42;

New Milford, in Connecticut, a meeting for worship probably by 1733 and constituted a preparative meeting in 1742 (Jones, *op. cit.*, 251, *n.* gives the date for the preparative meeting as 1777, but according to the minutes of the New York Meeting for Sufferings it would seem that the above date is more nearly the correct one);

Nine Partners, a meeting for worship by 1742, constituted a preparative meeting by 1744;

Peach Pond, a meeting for worship by 1760 and probably a preparative meeting at that time, although Jones, *op. cit.*, 251, *n.* gives the date of the preparative meeting as 1779;

Oswego, a meeting for worship by 1750 and constituted a preparative meeting by 1758; and

Poughquaig, a meeting for worship in 1771 and constituted a preparative meeting in 1773.

When Nine Partners Monthly Meeting was set off from Oblong Monthly Meeting in 1769 it was composed of Nine Partners and Oswego Preparative Meetings.

[4] These plunderers consisted of two groups, the Cow-boys, who were supporters of the British, and the Skinners, who sided with the Americans. See Robert Bolton, Jr., *A History of the County of Westchester*, first ed., 2 vols., New York 1848, i, 210.

In 1783 the Meeting for Sufferings informed the Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings of the experiences of Friends in New York as follows:

> The Sufferings of Friends within the verge of our Yearly Meeting, have been very Considerable, and by some places very distressing, particularly in the Monthly Meeting of Friends at Harrison's Purchase on the Main, who have not only suffered the unavoidable desolations of War, but have been left exposed to the lawless Ravages of unmerci-

within which lived a large number of Inhabitants, many of whom on the approach of the Armies, left their Homes and betook themselves to one or other of them for Protection, but friends of whom there were more than One Hundred Families in this exposed part of the Country, generally kept their places most of whom were much stript of their outward Substance but this Suffering was only in Common With other people who remain'd in their Habitations, but the meetings of Mamaroneck Purchase and Shapaqua were within this Situation in attending which the Friends thereto belonging were exposed, to many abuses and trials of their Faith, being frequently met with by Scouting Parties from one or other of the Armies, by whom they were sometimes roughly Treated; but their greatest Sufferings were from the aforementioned Lawless Banditti, by whom it was no uncommon thing to be Robbed and Stript of Cloathing, and sometimes to receive great personal abuse, yet Friends thus Situate Chose rather to hazard all than omit the attendance of their Religious Meetings, that it was remarked their Zeal and Diligence herein increased with their Sufferings, and as no other Societies kept up their Meetings in this perillous place, many of other denominations who before knew but little of Friends, on observing, their Steadfastness were led into an enquiry of our principles, and to attend our Meetings, and divers were added to each of these meetings by Convincement, during the War.

At Purchase was also held a Monthly and Quarterly Meeting, to the Monthly belonged the particular Meetings of West Chester, and Amawalk, the first within the British possession and the latter the American, and the Quarterly Meeting composed mostly of Meetings within the American lines, and as hath been observed, passing and repassing thru' the lines of either Army was wholly forbid under very severe penalties, which rendered it still more difficult and hazardous for Friends within the Limits of either of the Contending parties to attend those meetings between the Lines, than it was for the Friends who resided there, as those were subject to the Same Suffering from these Lawless Robbers, that these were and more exposed to abuse, from Scouting Parties, being look'd upon as transgressors of the Law in being

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ful men; by which many who were in good Circumstances, have been and are reduced to want the Common necessaries of Life; under all which Friends have generally been preserved in a good degree of Patience and resignation, and of whose distress'd situation this Meeting hath not been unmindful, but hath offered such assistance as was found necessary . . . (New York Meeting for Sufferings to Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings, January 29, 1783; New York Meeting for Sufferings, Minutes, i, 95-96.)

there and many of those in going to and from these Meetings suffered considerable both in person and property, yet amidst all these difficulties, the Monthly & Quarterly Meetings at this place were regularly kept up and Friends enabled to transact the business thereof without much interruption. And our Yearly Meeting being held on Long Island within the British possessions, to attend which Friends on the Main were exposed to all the foregoing difficulties and Sufferings, with the additional discouragement that by going within the British Lines they were liable on their return home to be apprehended and confin'd.[5] Eight Friends

[5] Elias Hicks gives a somewhat more favorable picture of the experiences of Friends in his *Journal* (New York 1832), 16. Those "who stood faithful to their principles," he wrote, "and did not meddle in the controversy, had, after a short period at first, considerable favour allowed them. The yearly meeting was held steadily, during the war, on Long Island, where the king's party had the rule; yet Friends from the Main, where the American army ruled, had free passage through both armies to attend it, and any other meetings they were desirous of attending, except in a few instances."

In the William Heath Papers in the Massachusetts Historical Society there are some military despatches concerning some of the instances to which Hicks refers. The first one, dated "Pines Bridge Nov. 6th 1781," from Colonel Sheldon, was to inform General Heath that "John Wyllys, Silas Downing, William Rickman & Gideon Simmons, all came from Long Island about three weeks since, they have been into the Country as far as Quaker Hill [Oblong Meeting] to one of their meetings and are now on their return. I have stopped them until I receive your orders respecting them." (Colonel Sheldon to General Heath, November 6, 1781, *William Heath Papers*, xxii, 55.) The apprehended Quakers were evidently turned over to the custody of General Heath, who sent them on to Governor Clinton at Poughkeepsie. Accompanying them was a letter to the Governor declaring that the Quakers "alwaies express much inoffensiveness—and that they do not meddle with Politicks but I have known some of them to Collect very good Intelligence if they will do it on our side they will on the other however not knowing what has been made of conduct with this sort of People I have sent them to your Excellency—they own that they some time since applied to General Washington for leave to come over from Long Island to the Main and that he refused them." (General Heath to Governor Clinton, November 7, 1781, *ibid.*, 68; *The Public Papers of Governor George Clinton*, 8 vols., Albany 1908, vii, 489-490.) The Governor replied: "The Quakers & Defenders are consigned to the Commissions of Conspiracies. . . . The Quakers have already given us so much Trouble & have it in their Power to do us so much Mischief under aspicious Cloaks of Religion that some Means must be fallen upon to prevent the Intercourse with the Enemy which their Attendance at

belonging to Oblong Quarterly Meeting soon after their return home from the Yearly Meeting in 1777 were cited to appear at Poughkeepsie before those termed the Commissioners for conspiracy by whom after examination the Friends were told that their going to Long Island was esteemed a Capital Crime, and that they would send to the Convention for direction to act in their case in consequence of which an order was received from the Convention to commit them to the Fleet Prison (being a number of Vessels at Esopus Creek in Hudsons River,) accordingly on the 24 of 6 M°. 1777 they were sent on board one of the Prison Ships, except two who were Women and permitted to return home 11 of 7 m. one of the other Friends was discharged; They sent divers petitions to the Council of Safety (so call'd) asserting their Innocence, and requesting to be released, which produced an order dated in Eighth Month for their discharge on their taking an affirmation of allegiance to the State, and paying costs, which they inform'd the Council they could not comply with, as they believed the taking an Affirmation to either party while contending for the Authority by the Sword, would be inconsistent with the peacable principles they professed; and endeavoured to live in, and apprehending themselves Innocent they could not pay the Prison fees; Soon after this, some of them were permitted to go home, and stay for a time, and on 2nd of 11th Month those that remained had liberty to go home and remain till ordered to return, which has not yet been.[6] Many other Friends met with Losses and abuse in going to and from the Yearly Meeting, such as being robbed of their Money, Stript of Clothing and their Horses and Saddles taken from them, to

their Quarterly & Monthly Meetings occasion & perhaps a confinement of the present Gentry or a prevention of their Return to Long Island may have the desired Effect." (Governor Clinton to General Heath, November 10, 1781, *Wm. Heath Pap.*, xxii, 104; *Pub. Pap. Gov. Clinton*, vii, 495-496.)

Shortly afterward General Heath seems to have acted according to the Governor's suggestion, and adopted a policy of investigating such Quakers as desired to pass through the lines. About two months later, in January 1782, he issued the following order to Major Woodbridge: "The People called Friends or Quakers, have one of their Quarterly Meetings, in a few Days, at Harrisons Purchase [now Purchase], as they will be anxious to attend their meeting you may let such pass as produce a recommendation from Capt. Honeywell, but no others . . ." (General Heath to Major Woodbridge, January 28, 1782, *Wm. Heath Pap.*, xxiii, 262.)

[6] The proceedings and resolves of the New York legislature concerning these Friends are in the *Journals of the Provincial Congress of New York*, Albany 1842, i, 972, June 19, 1777; 1027, August 5, 1777.

which was sometimes added personal Abuse, so that by the complicated difficulties that appeared in the way the undertaking was rendered Hazardous, and at Times seemed insurmountable, yet Courage was given to undertake and ability afforded to go through all so that our Annual Meeting was steadily attended by Friends from every Quarter, and they enabled Quietly to deliberate on the State of our Religious Society, whereunto many were added by Convincement, by which and by the removal and increase of Friends divers new Meetings were settled, so that on the Main, where in the year 1775 there were only One Quarterly, three Monthly and Eleven particular Meetings, there is now two Quarterly seven Monthly and twenty Six particular Meetings, besides several others not yet fully established.[7]

[7] During and immediately after the war the following preparative meetings were added to Nine Partners Monthly Meeting:

Creek, established as a meeting for worship in 1771 and constituted a preparative meeting in 1776;

New Marlborough, established as a preparative meeting in 1776 according to the Minutes of the New York Meeting for Sufferings, although Jones, *op. cit.*, 251 *n.*, gives this date for its origin as a meeting for worship, and 1783 for its being constituted a preparative meeting;

Cornwall, set up as a meeting for worship 1772-1773, constituted a preparative meeting in 1776-1777;

East Hoosack (Adams, Massachusetts), established as a Preparative Meeting in 1774;

Saratoga, set up as a preparative meeting in 1774;

White Creek, constituted a preparative meeting in 1777; and

New Britain, established as a preparative meeting in 1781.

In 1776 a monthly meeting was set up to meet at East Hoosack and Saratoga alternately, composed of these preparative meetings and those at White Creek and Danby in Vermont the last established in 1781.

A few years later, in 1783, this monthly meeting was divided into two meetings, East Hoosack in Massachusetts, and Saratoga, now called Easton, which included the preparative meetings of Saratoga, White Creek, Danby, and Saratoga on the west side of the river, the last constituted a preparative meeting in 1783-84.

Creek Monthly Meeting was set off from Nine Partners Monthly Meeting in 1782, and to it were transferred Cornwall, (New) Marlborough, and New Britain. Preparative meetings later added were:

Crum Elbow, established as a meeting for worship in 1778 and constituted a preparative meeting of Creek Monthly Meeting in 1783;

Hudson, set up as a preparative meeting in 1785; and

Coeman's Patent, now Coeymans, set up as a preparative meeting in 1785.

All of the above meetings were within the jurisdiction of Nine Partners

And altho it is with regret to be acknowledged, that Instances, have occurred of some individuals, who had a right of membership, amongst us who were not sufficiently guarded in their Conduct, particularly in the early part of the War, yet the peaceable uniform Conduct of Friends in general, tended to evince that their views in thus passing, were unmixed with the disputes, then the object of Contention, but were Simply the discharge of Religious Duty, that towards the Close of the War, little or no interruption was given them by those vested with Authority in passing to and from their Religious Meetings, but from Lawless unprincipled Men, they sustained great abuse, and frequent Losses even until the War ended.

Our enquiries led us to information of some close trials and proving seasons Witness'd by the few Friends lately settled at Saratoga in the Northern parts of this State where the British army arrived in 1777, the approach of which was preceeded by very alarming reports of the Scalping and devestation committed indiscriminately by the Indians, yet Friends were generally preserved quietly to await on their own Habitations the trials that approached them, and not to neglect the assembling themselves for publick Worship, altho' to outward appearance the Hazard was great from Scouting parties from both Sides, and at one of those times near the conclusion of the Meeting, came a party of Indians with two Frenchmen, and surrounded the House; One of the Indians after Looking in, withdrew and beckoned with his hand, upon which a Friend went out, and was asked by Signs whether there were Soldiers there, the Indians upon being answered in the Negative, Shook hands with him, and the rest came into the House, they were marked, painted and equipt for War. And it being about the Conclusion of the Meeting, they Shook hands with Friends and one friend having [a knowledge of] the French tongue could confer with them, by the assistance of the two French Men. When they understood Friends were at a Religious Meeting, they went to one of their Houses, got

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Quarterly Meeting, when that was set off from Purchase Quarterly Meeting in 1783.

Preparative meetings added to Oblong Monthly Meeting in these years were the Valley, set up as a meeting for worship in 1776 and constituted a preparative meeting in 1782, and Branch, established as a meeting for worship in 1776 and set up as a preparative meeting in 1783.

In Westchester County, the area embraced by Purchase Quarterly Meeting, a monthly meeting was set off from Purchase Monthly Meeting in 1785 to be held alternately at Chappaqua and Amawalk. To it was added a preparative meeting at Cortland Manor, probably Croton, established the same year.

some Victuals, of which a prisoner with them partook, and they quietly departed.[8]

We also find that divers Friends, for refusing to comply with some Military requisitions, such as supplying with Horses for the use of the Armies, or going themselves or Sending a person to drive their Teams when taken from them for that purpose, and for refusing other demands, which they apprehended they could not comply with, without letting Fall the Testimony we have to bear against the nature and Spirit of War; for such refusal, tho done in great Meekness some suffered imprisonment, some were Cruelly beatten, and others were exposed to great dangers from Officers and Soldiers, who could not brook to have their Commands not obeyed, altho ever so unreasonable, therefore to effect a complyance, very Harsh Means have been used, Pistols and drawn Swords have been held up in view to some, with severe threats unless they complyed what the consequences should be, yet watchful providence preserved in these trying Seasons, that we dont find the Lives of any were Suffered to be taken and the Friends thus tried were supported firm in the Testimony Committed them to bear.

ARTHUR J. MEKEEL

A QUAKER ADDRESS TO GOVERNOR DUNMORE OF VIRGINIA, 1772

SINCE the seventeenth century it has been the custom of the English Quakers to present an address to each new sovereign on his accession to the throne. In colonial America some of the Quaker groups in the royal colonies adopted the same procedure when new governors were appointed by the Crown. The following item, found in the Robert Pleasants Papers in the Homewood Meeting vault in Baltimore, is a contemporary copy of such an address presented to Governor Dunmore on his arrival in Virginia in 1772. It was during his administration that the Revolutionary War broke out. His dissolution of the Virginia Assembly in June, 1774, for expressing sympathy with Massachusetts on her subjection to the Coercive Acts passed by Parliament in retaliation for the Boston Tea Party, caused the Burgesses to meet unofficially at the Raleigh Tavern and adopt the resolution calling the First Continental Congress. It was this same resolute Governor Dunmore who led an expedition in 1774 against unfriendly Indians in Kentucky, on what was called "Lord Dunmore's War," subjecting them to a sharp defeat.

The document is as follows:

[8] This is possibly the episode on which the story "Fierce Feathers," by Violet Hodgkin, is based.

To John Murray [Lord Dunmore] Governor of the Colony and Dominion of Virginia

The Address of the people Called Quakers

May it please the Governor —

Altho we embrace this occasion to join with our fellow Subjects in expressing our real sorrow for the death of our late worthy Governor [9] whose able behaviour and exemplary conduct endeared him to all ranks & Societies, yet we sincerely Congratulate thee on thy arrival in & accession to the government of this Colony, And at the same time declare our faithful allegiance to King George the third, and a dutiful regard for those in authority — under him.

Time and Experience having in a good degree removed the prejudice which formerly subsisted against our profession and fully manifested that our principles and Conduct are not inconsistent with good government Mortality & the Welfair of civil Society, which has proceured us that protection & Indulgence we now enjoy, and we hope will be continued to us under thy Administration.

We shall endeavour to promote that peace & harmony which renders government easy to the Magistrate and grateful to the people, And as the Example of Persons in exalted Stations hath great influence on the conduct of others we sincerely desire that God, the fountain of every excellence may direct thy Steps and enable thee to promote virtue & morality and discourage vice and Licentiousness which will make thy administration essentially beneficial to the present Generation and transmit thy name with deserved honour to Posterity.

To which the governor made the following Answer

I receive this loyal and dutiful Address with great Satisfaction, and thank you for your obliging congratulations to me.

You may be assured that you shall during my Administration, find the like protection and indulgence which you have heretofore experienced and which, the laudable endeavours, that you promise to exert, will Justly entitle you to.

[9] The Governor here referred to was Lord Botetourt, whose term of office covered the years 1769-1772. He was more sympathetic to the position of the colonists than some of his contemporaries, and his sensible administration of the office which he held had endeared him to many of the Virginians.

ON March 22, 1939, a "Hoover Birthplace Society" was organized at West Branch, Iowa.

ARTICLES IN QUAKER PERIODICALS

By Thomas E. Drake

The Friend (London)

DORIS N. DALGLISH, whose study of some early Friends, *People Called Quakers*, is an interesting volume, now contributes a further series of short studies based on Quaker journals. They include the Westmorland minister Samuel Bownas (1676-1753), in the issue of January 5, 1940, pp. 2-3; the historian of Irish Quakerism, Dr. John Rutty (1698-1775), January 26, 1940, pp. 44-45; the Quaker ironmaster, Richard Reynolds (1735-1816), March 1, 1940, pp. 124-125; and a pioneer Quaker missionary to Sierra Leone, Hannah Kilham (1774-1832), March 15, 1940, pp. 153-154.

The Friend (Philadelphia)

THE PAPERS which were read at the observance on 10 mo. 20, 1939, of the 250th anniversary of Quaker education in Philadelphia, appear in *The Friend* for 11 mo. 2 and 16. Those of special historical interest are by Henry J. Cadbury, "Quaker Education—Then and Now"; by Morris E. Leeds, "Greetings from the Public Schools"; and by Roland S. Morris, "The Contribution of Friends to American Adult Education."

The American Friend

DOROTHY LLOYD GILBERT of Guilford College prints a lecture on "The Peningtons" in the issue of 3 mo. 28, 1940, pp. 130-31.

Two anniversary meetings are reported in this issue, the 125th anniversary of Cincinnati, Ohio, Monthly Meeting (p. 136), and the 40th anniversary of the First Friends Church of San Diego, California (p. 141).

Friends Intelligencer

IN "One Hundred Years in Iowa," in the issue of 10 mo. 21, 1939, pp. 686-87, Luella Jones recalls briefly the founding and development of Salem, Iowa, where in 1838 the first monthly meeting of Friends west of the Mississippi was established.

The Canadian Friend

A SKETCH of the life of a Canadian-American Quaker abolitionist and philanthropist appears in the issue of September 1939, pp. 5-6, under the title "Laura S. Haviland" [1808-1898].

Louise Richardson Rourke prints an article, "Collingwood's First Friends' Meeting," in the issue of April 1940, pp. 6-8.

Friends' Witness (London)

JOSEPH JOHN HOUGHTON contributes an article of historical interest on "Leinster [Ireland] Quarterly Meeting" to the issue of 8 mo. 1939, p. 89.

Friends' Quarterly Examiner (London)

E. E. TAYLOR records incidents from the life of Miles Halhead, seventeenth-century Westmoreland Friend, in "The Story of a Husbandman," in the issue of 10 mo. 1939, pp. 309-15.

Notes relating to the history of the Sanders family form the substance of "An Old Quaker Diary from Whitby" in the issue of 1 mo. 1940, pp. 46-56.

PROFESSOR ARTHUR G. DORLAND, writing in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada,* 33 (1939), pp. 59-79, assigns "The Origins of the Holy Alliance of 1815" in a considerable extent to the influence of Friends with Czar Alexander I. There was of course the general desire for peace that followed the Napoleonic wars, there was also the philosophic influence of his tutor LaHarpe from his earlier years. That the Czar's idea—an anticipation of modern languages of nations—was due, as often claimed, to Madame de Krudener seems less likely than that the earlier and more lasting influence of the Quakers, especially Stephen Grellet and William Allen, was an important factor. There is indeed even more evidence of this influence than Professor Dorland and himself cites, e.g. in the lives of Thomas Shilltoe and Daniel Wheeler.

IN the *Bulletin of the Garden Club of America,* Fifth series, no. 5, pp. 6-16, Rachel M. M. Hunt writes on *William Penn—Horticulturist.*

LIBRARIES OWNING THE BULLETIN

THE FOLLOWING is a list of libraries which possess a complete or partial set of the BULLETIN OF FRIENDS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, as reported to the Secretary during the summer of 1939. This BULLETIN first appeared in 1906 and now runs to twenty-eight volumes. If there are any other libraries, or individuals, which own such sets, the Secretary would be glad to have a memorandum to that effect. Any library wishing to purchase a set of the BULLETINS, or complete a partial set, should communicate with Anna B. Hewitt, Secretary, Friends' Historical Association, Haverford, Pennsylvania. All libraries listed have complete sets, unless otherwise noted.

California	Huntington Library
	Whittier College Library
Connecticut	Yale University Library
District of Columbia	Library of Congress
Illinois	University of Chicago: Harper Memorial Library
	Newberry Library, Chicago
Indiana	Earlham College Library, Richmond
	Indiana State Library, Indianapolis
Massachusetts	American Antiquarian Society, Worcester
	Harvard College Library
	Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston
	New Bedford Public Library
	Partial set: Zion Research Library, Brookline
Michigan	Detroit Public Library: Burton Historical Collection
	University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Minnesota	Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul
Missouri	Kansas City Public Library
New Jersey	*Partial set:* Rutgers University Library, New Brunswick
New York	New York Historical Society
	New York Public Library
	Partial set: Vassar College Library
North Carolina	Duke University Library
	Guilford College Library
Ohio	*Partial set:* Oberlin College Library
Pennsylvania	Bucks County Historical Society, Doylestown
	Chester County Historical Society, West Chester
	Frankford Historical Society
	Friends' Free Library, Germantown
	Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore
	Haverford College Library
	Pendle Hill, Wallingford
	Historical Society of Pennsylvania
	Pennsylvania State Library, Harrisburg
	University of Pennsylvania
	Western Pennsylvania Historical Society, Pittsburgh
	Partial set: Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, Wilkes-Barre
Texas	*Partial set:* University of Texas, Austin
Wisconsin	State Historical Society, Madison
Foreign countries	
Canada	University of Western Ontario
England	Friends Library, London
Wales	National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth

BRIEFER NOTICES

By Henry J. Cadbury

HARRY W. PFUND contributes to *The Germanic Review*, 14 (1939), 258-269 a historical account of the relation of Goethe and the Quakers. When the poet visited Pyrmont in 1801 with its Friends' meeting and cutlery manufactory he was rather prejudiced against religion; and later, when reporting this visit in 1825, he wrote unfavorably of the Quakers. His interest in clouds however attracted him to the works of Luke Howard, and their common lay position accentuated Goethe's growing sympathy with religion. He solicited an account of Howard's career and views, which kindled Goethe's admiration, as we know by several later references and by the fact that he translated it into German. Finally Goethe's growing admiration for the Quakers was stimulated by his interest in America and especially by reading about Philadelphia and the Quakers in the letters and diary of Duke Bernhard on a visit to the United States (1825-26).

JOHN A. POLLARD writing on "Whittier on the Labor Unions" in *The New England Quarterly* xii (1939), pp. 99-112, shows the Quaker poet's sympathy with labor in his early articles, and his condemnation of a court's failure to sustain collective bargaining. His editorial on this point is republished from the *Essex Gazette* of July 23, 1836. These prose pieces anticipate his attitude in "Songs of Labor."

A PAMPHLET by Ann Gidley Lowry entitled "The Story of Flushing Meeting House" is both well written and well illustrated. It gives the history of the house built in 1694 and of the still older Quaker community at Flushing, Long Island. Architectural features and Quaker ideals both interest the author. The pictures include, besides the meeting house (inside, outside, fireplace), the John Bowne house built in 1661. This booklet, prepared in expectation of visitors to the World's Fair, is a model which other meetings might well follow.

AMERICAN *"Standard" News,* vol. iv, No. 6 (June 1939), has a brief illustrated article on the heating arrangements of the Friends' Meeting House at Flushing, Long Island.

COLERIDGE'S sympathy with Quakerism is well known. In the marginalia to his copy of Cotton Mather's *Magnalia* described by David Davies, in *Huntington Library Quarterly* vol. 2 (1939), pp. 233-248, various notes show at least hostility to the New England Puritans. Thus Mather's prejudice against Quakerism is obvious, as Coleridge recognized, in his narration of the witchcraft evidence that a bewitched girl could read only a Quaker book. When Mather describes a long disputation between a Boston minister and two Quakers Coleridge

exclaims, "What an ill-mannered Bigot does this Minister approve himself!" Between Thomas Maule and Cotton Mather Coleridge again takes the Quaker's side, concluding:

Why at Tom Maule dost fret & foam
Thy own Book's but a mauling Tome
Add to thy name an R: for rather
A Mauler art thou than a Mather!

S. T. C.

THE *Westchester County Historical Society Bulletin* x (1934), pp. 34-37, contains an account of "William Purdy of Courtland, Quaker Preacher," by Elliott Baldwin Hunt. Purdy's life was from 1769 to 1847.

THE "Excerpts from the Charles City County Records (1655-1666)" supplied by Robert A. Stewart include as their first instalment, published in *Virginia Magazine of History* xlii (1934), pp. 341-44, only accounts of Quaker persecutions in 1663-64. The Quakers mentioned are Francis Whittington, Howell Edmonds, Benjamin Travers, and Edward Freeze. The offenses are wearing hats in court or holding Quaker meetings. The penalties are fine or banishment.

"GOSHEN ORTHODOX FRIENDS MEETING" is the subject of an article by Helen W. Shortlidge in *Chester County Collections* No. 14 (April 1939). The history begins in 1701. The meeting house was transferred to the local grange in 1894, but the burial ground is still used. A list of those interred since 1851 is here included.

A USEFUL kind of publication, of which more examples are in prospect, is the *Inventory of Church Archives of Rhode Island: Society of Friends,* issued by the Historical Records Survey, Works Progress Administration (1939, 80 pages, obtainable from Moses Brown School, Providence, Rhode Island, 50 cents). It is a mimeographed but well bound list of the records of some fifty-four meetings of Friends in Rhode Island. There is considerable historical explanation of the history of each group (Orthodox, "Foster," "Otis," etc.), and of each local meeting or school in the State, with a good bibliography and index.

IN THE *Proceedings* of the Nantucket Historical Association 1938, are brief recollections (p. 9) of some of the last Friends on Nantucket. Alexander Coffin, a dentist, and his wife Narcissa are said to have been the last members of the Society on the Island to have a boy apprenticed to them for upbringing. James Monaghan's article "Anti-Slavery on Nantucket" (pp. 23-26) mentions Elihu Coleman, first New England Quaker to publish an attack on slavery (1733), and tells of Quaker assistance to a fugitive slave on Nantucket in 1822, in preventing his capture by the United States marshal.

THE University of Chicago Libraries printed in 1936 a brief essay by Cecil Brown Williams on "Whittier's Use of Historical Material in *Margaret Smith's Journal.*" Here the sources used as historical background for the imaginative work of the Quaker author are shown in a painstaking way. Though complete in itself this pamphlet represents only part of an unpublished thesis on the subject.

IN THE *Palimpsest* xviii (1937) : 285-298, Charles A. Hawley deals with Jennie Shrader, an Iowa admirer of John G. Whittier.

UNDER the title "A British Food Ship for Philadelphia Quakers," E[lizabeth] L. A[dams] publishes in *More Books, the Bulletin of the Boston Public Library* (February 1939) xiv, 64 f, a three-page folio manuscript letter lately acquired by the Library. It is dated London, 3d mo. 8th, 1782, and is addressed by several London Friends to several Philadelphia Friends, complaining that when a food ship sent at their request to Philadelphia Friends in 1778 finally arrived, instead of netting a profit, which could be used for relief of poor Friends, its cargo was sold at a loss of £2339, which the London Friends were loath to bear. We may add here the fact that the letter of 12th mo. 16, 1777, mentioned in the new document, in which Philadelphia had engaged to reimburse the advances to be made on account of the cargo, was published in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* xx (1896) : 125 ff, and completes the picture of this interesting event of the Revolutionary War period.

THE Quakers in Flushing 1657-1937 is a pamphlet written by Charles U. Powell, clerk of the monthly meeting of Flushing, Long Island, and originally published in the local newspaper (Case the Printer, 135-29 Fortieth Road, Flushing, New York). Its value is its local historical information, taken in part from manuscript materials, though not from John Bowne's manuscript journal. The general information about Friends is familiar and in places unreliable. The map of meetings in New York Yearly Meeting in 1821, reprinted from an old handbook, is useful though not relevant here.

"THE Norwegian Quakers of Marshall County, Iowa" by Professor H. F. Swansen, in *Norwegian-American Studies and Records,* x (1938) : 127-134, tells the story of the only Norwegian-speaking community of Friends in America. Søren Olesen, who emigrated from Norway in 1854, settled four years later in Le Grand, Iowa. He was followed by other refugees from persecution. In 1864 they established a meeting in their own language at Stavanger, Iowa. In 1869 they were joined by a new set of immigrants—from Roldal, the remote valley in Norway where Lindley Murray Hoag had found them in 1853. A house of worship was acquired in 1870. In 1885 they transferred their connection to the conservative Iowa Yearly Meeting. In 1891 they opened Stavanger School.

W. T. WHITLEY has published in the *Baptist Quarterly* no. 4 (1938), 247-251, an account of The Great Raid of 1670 on certain London churches under the new Conventicle Act. His text is a sheet of paper now in Westminster Abbey (Monuments no. 11461), giving orders for the disposition of soldiers on the first Sunday after the act was passed on May 10, 1670. Two of the eleven places mentioned in the instruction sheet are "The Quakers' Devonshire House" and "The Quakers in Grace Church Street." It is endorsed with a report of results by the officers, including "6 files of Capt Bratley ordered to ye quakers meeting in Gracious street." This particular information was given to the colonel of the Green Regiment of trainbands, Sir Andrew King, from whose executor it came into the Abbey. Mr. Whitley explains that while most acts were executed by the parish constable (or in London by special officers of the mayor), this act allowed for the use of the militia or any other of His Majesty's forces. His notes are on the Baptist churches mentioned (or omitted) in the order.

AN ANCIENT, dilapidated colonial house by Goldsborough Creek in Talbot County, Maryland (Eastern Shore), three miles northwest of Easton, is described with plan and photograph by Henry C. Forman in *Maryland Historical Magazine* 34 (Sept. 1939), 223-227. For more than fifty years it has been identified as "The End of Controversie," which was the last home (1670-1679) of Wenlock Christison. Here was held the first meeting of Friends in Maryland of which any minute has been preserved. Its owner after standing for freedom of conscience in Massachusetts finally settled here, and he became one of the first Friends to hold public office. It is to be hoped that the publication of this interesting architectural and topographical notice will direct attention to what should become a well preserved shrine.

UNDER the pseudonym "A Woodbrooker" may be recognized D. Elton Trueblood as the author of a pamphlet on *The Woodbrooke Quaker Library*. By recent additions, especially of the Bevan Naish Library formerly at Bull Street Meeting, Birmingham, and by being housed in a newly built special room, this Quaker collection at Selly Oak has become one of the best centers for the study of Quaker history. The pamphlet mentions several "association" interests in the Library, also some of the items that are rare or even unique. Former owners include John Wilhelm Rowntree, William Charles Braithwaite, and F. J. Powicke.

In this connection may be mentioned an article on eight thousand "Tracts in Woodbrooke Library" written by Arnold Lloyd, who lately cataloged them, published in *Friends Quarterly Examiner*, no. 290 (4 mo. 1939), 111-119. This article calls attention to the variety of the collection and to some individual tracts of interest.

OF THE PRIMERS prepared by Friends of the seventeenth century three at least are quite scarce (by Fox and Hookes, by Stephen Crisp, and by William Smith). No copy is known to exist of one by John Perrot; another is extant in manuscript (by John Stubbs?); and another survives in a single copy. This last is by Francis Daniel Pastorius, and from the copy in the Bevan Naish Library now at Woodbrooke, Selly Oak, photostats are now available in the useful collection of *Photostat Americana*, Second Series, 1936, no. 80. This primer is interesting because of the author (the German Pennsylvania Pilgrim), the date (about 1698), and the printer (William Bradford, then in New York); the copy reproduced was provided with sixty-four pages of prefatory matter written throughout in the distinctive handwriting of Pastorius and intended as a kind of dedication from his young Philadelphia pupils (Israel Pemberton and others) to the new-born heir of the proprietor, John Penn. This MS is largely a collection of conceits about the use of names.

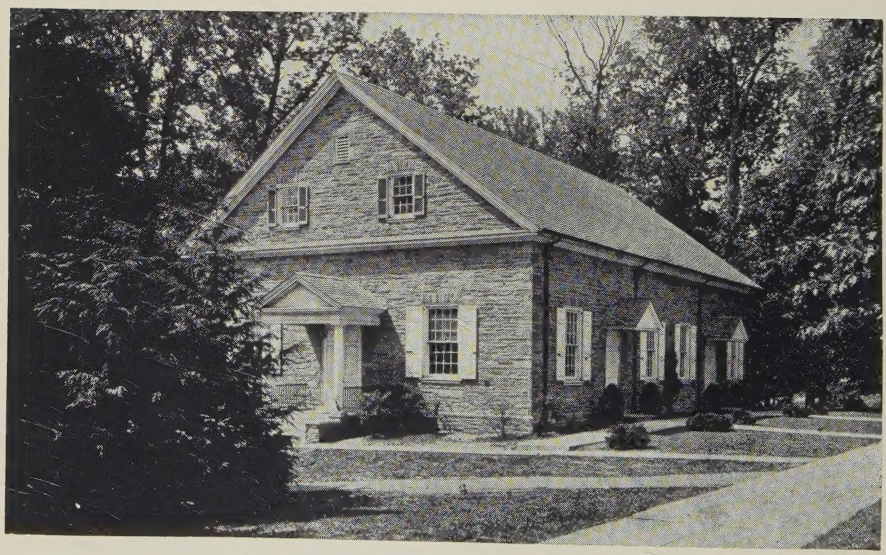
ANOTHER recent issue of *Photostat Americana* (Second Series, no. 89), dated September 1939, is the first edition of *God's Protecting Providence* by Jonathan Dickenson, the first book printed by Renier Jansen, 1699. (See this BULLETIN 24 (1935), 85, where nineteen editions are listed.) The photostat is from the Lenox collection in the New York Public Library, which has on the title page the stamp of Joseph Smith (the Quaker bibliographer?).

Other Quaker items in *Photostat Americana*, Second Series, published between 1936 and 1939 are the following: No. 10, T[homas] M[aule], *An abstract of a letter to Cotton Mather*, [New York] 1701. No. 23, Daniel Leeds, *News of a Trumpet Sounding in the Wilderness*, New York 1697. No. 27, Francis Daniel Pastorius, *Umständige geographische Beschreibung der . . . Pensylvaniæ*, Franckfort und Leipzig 1700. No. 72, Thomas Budd, *A brief answer to two papers procured from Friends in Maryland*, [Philadelphia 1692]; and *idem*, *A Just Rebuke to several calumnies*. No. 81, [Timothy Davis], *A letter from a Friend . . . on the subject of paying taxes*, Watertown 1776. No. 92, Francis Bugg, *Quakerism Withering . . .*, London 1694.

ELIZABETH HUME of Amesbury was a schoolgirl in the 1870's who spent her summers as did John G. Whittier and others of the town at West Ossipee, New Hampshire. Extracts from her letters, dealing with him and his circle, are now published in the *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, 75 (1939), 313-325, under the title "Summers with a Poet. Recollections of John Greenleaf Whittier."

THE *Saturday Evening Post*, vol. 212, no. 34 (Feb. 17, 1940), contains a long and quite accurate description of the Society of Friends both past and present, under the title "100,000 Quakers May be Right." The author is Stanley High.

Westtown School
The Old Building, torn down in 1886



Westtown School: the Present Meeting House